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THE

WORKS

OF

TACITUS.

WITH

POLITICAL DISCOURSES

UPON THAT

AUTHOR,

BY

THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

The THIRD EDITION corrected.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
Printed for T. and T. LONGMAN, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR, R. DODSLEY, J. and J. RIVINGTON, and M. COOPER.
MDCCLIII.

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DISCOURSES

UPON THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

I NOW acquit myſelf of my engagement to the Public, by ſending abroad the remaining Works of Tacitus tranſlated into Engliſh. In this ſecond Volume I have followed the ſame method as in the firſt, allowing for the difference of ſtile in the Original; for that of the Hiſtory is more eloquent and ſounding than that of the Annals; though both Works are equally grave, equally abounding in ſtrong ſenſe and beautiful reflections, ſuch as at once convince the underſtanding, affect the heart, and pleaſe the imagination: Proofs of the power of good writing, and indeed of its utmoſt perfection. A very fine ſtile may be very languid; very lively expreſſion may have very little force; very grave reaſonings may be far ſhort of perſuading. But when a writer at the ſame time delights, and animates and inſtructs, when his ſentences are brilliant, his propoſitions ſelf-evident, his arguments irreſiſtible, his manner charming, and when his heart withal is benevolent and ſincere, he is an accompliſhed, he is a perfect writer. Such a writer is Tacitus, as I have already largely ſhewn. Nor do I mean or want to add further to the character or defence of that extraordinary Author. I hope I need not. I have alrea-

dy amply displayed and defended it, and the more I study him, the more cause I find to admire and justify him, and to wonder at the objections usually made to him, as fantastical and groundless.

The foregoing History is one of the most entertaining that can possibly be read, full of surprising events and revolutions, recounted with great spirit and judgment, in a stile more free and flowing than that of the Annals, and every where enriched with curious observations, all charming and wise. Equally noble and delightful are his two Treatises subjoined, his Account of Germany, and the Life of Agricola, both very curious, both very instructive, and only worthy of the masterly hand of Tacitus.

In my Discourses on the Annals, I have shewn how ill he had been used by former Translators. His History has hardly fared better than his Annals. Sir Henry Savil who translated it first, has taken great pains and is very exact; but his expression is mean, lifeless and perplexed, void of all force and beauty. He grovels from sentence to sentence, labouring after the meaning of words and particular phrases, and quite loses, or quite starves the noble and nervous thoughts of Tacitus. He is a cold dealer in dry grammar, untouched with the vivacity of his Author, and without feeling, much less possessing, any part of his strength and fire. His Notes are learned, but insipid, and shew great diligence and memory, but a barren genius and very short discernment. His censures of Tacitus are pitiful, and in them he chiefly betrays his own peevishness, his vanity and carping temper.

Since him there has been another Translation still worse, by several hands, most of them beholden to him for the sense of Tacitus, and guilty of enfeebling even the weak expression of Sir H. Savil.

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He tranſlated four books of the Hiſtory, with the Life of Agricola (I preſume he omitted the fifth book in tenderneſs to the Jews) and they who tranſlated theſe over again have ſadly maimed them to make them modern Engliſh, that is to ſay, to make Tacitus prate pertly and familiarly. Were it not for fear of tiring my reader I could largely ſhew the many and continual defects of both Tranſlations as I did thoſe in the Tranſlations of the Annals. But to ſuch as have any doubt or curioſity about it, I refer that taſk.

In defence of my own Tranſlation, I have little elſe to ſay than that it wanted no care of mine to make it exact, to make it reſemble the Original, and yet not to read like a Tranſlation. It is my opinion, that it is poſſible for an Engliſh writer to imitate the Ancients very nearly in phraſeology and ſtile. As our Language is capable of many variations of phraſe, there is great room to improve it by the tranſpoſition of words from the common way of marſhalling them; and in ſolemn works of proſe as well as in poetry, it muſt be frequently done in order to preſerve a decent dignity of expreſſion, and to avoid the lightneſs and familiarity of ordinary converſation: Whatever is intended to convince the underſtanding, and to move the heart, muſt be noble and grave, free from all trite words, from all light and trivial ſounds. And becauſe we want variety of words, and our words often want force, it will be found neceſſary to give them ſome advantage in the Ranging and Cadence; a thing which may eaſily be done. Of this a thouſand inſtances might be produced, eſpecially from Milton and other of our Poets. But I ſhall illuſtrate what I mean by a quotation or two from the old Teſtament. The Prophet ſpeaking of *Tophet*, ſays, 'Wide and deep it was made: For the King 'it was made.' This ſeems to me more noble

and ſounding than if it had been expreſſed a different and the uſual way, though the very ſame words had been employed: 'It was made wide 'and deep: It was made for the King.' Another example I ſhall take from the Book of Job. 'By the blaſt of God they periſh, and by the 'breath of his noſtrils they are conſumed.' This manner of expreſſion is far from being ſtiff. I think it more flowing as well as more forcible than the common manner. Here both periods cloſe with the ſtrongeſt ideas, thoſe conveyed by the words *periſh*, and *conſumed*; and the vigour of the ſentence is found where it ſhould be, in the end of it.

Another improvement would ariſe from reviving ſome of our old words, ſuch as have ſignificancy and ſound: For many ſuch there are, and many ſuch we eminently want. I have ventured upon doing this in a few inſtances; and it may be done in abundance with ſucceſs.

I have not yet found any cauſe for wiſhing that I had taken another method in tranſlating Tacitus. Whoever would do him juſtice muſt endeavour to preſerve his brevity and fire, and, inſtead of bringing him down to common language, endeavour to raiſe the language up to him, or as near him as the idiom will permit. Such tranſformation is for its advantage, may be made without hurting perſpicuity or the ear, and will prove more beautiful as well as more lively. I mean not a verbal tranſlation, which is generally no language, but only harſhneſs and jargon. What I mean is Pruning and Ranging, the Rejecting all waſte words, all faint phraſes, and the Conſolidating ſpirit and ſound. Theſe variations from the uſual and familiar form, are by ſome called *Latiniſms*, and under that name condemned. But if they be clear and ſtrong, and read well, they are juſt, whatever they be called. I wiſh our Language reſembled Latin

more.

more. I own that an exact imitation of the Latin will never do, witneſs the old Tranſlation of Tacitus, which creeps after every word with equal inſipidneſs and obſcurity. I ſhall only produce one example. That Writer ſpeaking of the Germans, ſays, *Argentum & aurum propitii an arati Dii negaverint, dubito.* The Tranſlator renders it thus: 'Silver and Gold whether the angry or favourable 'Gods have denied them, I doubt.' This is nonſenſe. The man perhaps knew what Tacitus meant; but no Engliſh reader can know what he himſelf means, though he has adhered literally to the Latin. In my own Tranſlation of this paſſage, I have preſerved ſomething of the Latin manner, I hope without injuring the Engliſh. 'Silver and 'Gold the Gods have denied them, whether in 'kindneſs or in anger, I am unable to decide.' Sir Walter Raleigh, Mr. Hobbes, Milton and Shakeſpear, are all great maſters of language; and their language reſembles that of the Ancients.

Whatever objections to this performance come from men of capacity and candour, I have ever regarded, I ever ſhall regard, with due ſubmiſſion to them, with due diſtruſt of myſelf, and be ready to own my conviction, or to convince them that I cannot ſee cauſe. There may be very juſt and unanſwerable exceptions, which have not been communicated to me. Whenever they are, I ſhall be forward and glad to make ſuitable alterations.

In reviewing my Tranſlation of the Annals I have diſcovered ſome miſtakes, which though they be of little importance, I have rectified in this edition. The like care I have taken of the Hiſtory, where I hope very few will be found.

The following Diſcourſes, like the former, were compoſed for the intereſt of public Liberty, againſt public violence and the iniquities [illegible]. Nor can one who reads Tacitus attentively [illegible]

ing a thouſand reflections, ſuch as muſt fill his heart with anguiſh for the deplorable lot of a people enſlaved and oppreſſed, and with bitterneſs againſt their tyrants and oppreſſors. Unleſs he have hardened his heart againſt all the impulſes of humanity and compaſſion, unleſs we have loſt all regard for right and wrong, all ſenſe of liberty and truth, he muſt be ſtruck with the ſad ſcenes before him, innocence ſuffering, cruelty devouring, iniquity exalted and powerful, virtue perſecuted and periſhing. He muſt rejoice in his own happier lot and that of his country; muſt abhor all practices and principles repugnant to liberty, and productive of ſervitude, abhor the men who broach ſuch principles, and advance ſuch practices. He muſt find proportionable delight from ſeeing the cauſe of Liberty flouriſh, from ſeeing it well explained, aſſerted and recommended.

The advantages and bleſſings of Liberty are there moſt palpably to be diſcerned, where Tyranny is moſt heavily felt; and from this very Hiſtory the reader will ſee, that whatever is good or amiable in the world is by Tyranny deſtroyed and extinguiſhed; that whatever is evil, miſchievous and deteſtable, is by Tyrants introduced, nurtured and propagated. From hence he will reaſon and recollect that every thing dear and deſirable to ſociety muſt reſult from a ſtate of liberty; that there only property and life are not precarious, nor conſcience and the faculties of the ſoul bound in chains: That even Religion, in order to do good, muſt be left entirely free, and that in countries enſlaved, it is converted, even the ſacred alliance between the ſoul of man and its Creator, is converted, into an apparent engine of tyranny and deluſion, into a manifeſt market and commodity for deluders, who whilſt they are openly engaged in nothing but gain, and fraud and domineering, and the like ſelfiſh purſuits,

purſuits, all very worldly, many very wicked, have the confidence to preach up ſelf-denial, to preach againſt the world, and to claim ſucceſſorſhip to the poor, wandering, holy and diſintereſted Apoſtles. A ſort of hypocriſy and aſſurance more inſulting than all the reſt of their unhallowed contradictions and doings, that ſuch men as they, the tools of Tyranny, and themſelves Tyrants, dare thus cover their pride and paſſions with the name and commiſſion of the meek and merciful Jeſus; dare pretend to reaſoning, yet forbid all enquiry, talk of learning, and promote ignorance, demand vaſt reverence from the people for keeping them in a condition of ſavageneſs and ſlavery, and take great revenues for deceiving and oppreſſing them.

By ſuch conſiderations upon nations under ſervitude, eſpecially under popiſh ſervitude, the moſt hideous and complete that the world ever ſaw, he will be awakened with juſt zeal for the preſervation of his own Britiſh Liberty, and grow jealous of every attempt to abridge it; ſince whoever will know the value of Liberty, need only examine the diſmal ſtate of thoſe countries where it is not.

Liberty, which is the people's civil ſalvation, cannot be too often inculcated and explained. Where Liberty is gone, what have they more? It has been often ſecretly undermined, often openly attacked in this free Nation. Againſt it many monſtrous and wicked doctrines have been advanced: To overturn it the holy name of God has been boldly profaned, his ſacred Word impiouſly perverted, all the exceſſes of oppreſſion and public robbery have been encouraged and ſanctified: And all this by ſome Oracles of the Law, in defiance of Law; by many miniſters of Religion, in ſpight of Religion and of ſolemn Oaths. Injuſtice has uſurped the name of Law; nonſenſe, chicanery, and the proſtitution of Scripture, were called ſound Divinity;

uſurpation and miſrule were ſtiled the Ordinance of God: madneſs was Loyalty; common ſenſe was Treaſon.

Thus was every thing dear and valuable to this Nation given up: nor was it a meer compliment officiouſly made, and not taken. To manifeſt how acceptable it was, the perjured and godleſs traitors who made it, were openly diſtinguiſhed with protection and rewards: To refute their reveries and barbarous poſitions, was dangerous, forbidden, nay, capital; and to prevent the poor people, thus doomed to bondage and miſery, from perceiving how inhumanly they were abuſed and betrayed by their profeſſed guides and penſioners, and by theſe their paid protectors, they were blinded and terrified by the witchery of words and ſuperſtition, nay, threatened with damnation, if they would not be damned to be ſlaves.

What language can paint ſuch ſhocking wickedneſs and deluſion! Surely none ever feared God ſo little as ſome who have ſpoken in his name; none have ever been ſo void of humanity towards men as many who aſſumed a right to guide them to all happineſs. Nor was it poſſible for any man to deliver ſuch tenets as from God, without being either a bold Impoſtor, or an Enthuſiaſt ſtark mad, a hard-hearted Knave, or a dreaming Lunatic. In truth, theſe doctrines of theirs were as notoriouſly ſelfiſh as they were notoriouſly wicked and abſurd. Whenever they themſelves were careſſed, they never failed to juſtify oppreſſion and to deify oppreſſors. Whenever they thought themſelves ſlighted, though bereſt of nothing but the power of doing miſchief, they ever laboured with all bitterneſs to diſtreſs and even to deſtroy every adminiſtration however legal, however free from any violation offered to oaths and laws. Could there be a ſtronger demonſtration, that ſuch a ſpirit came not

from

from a gracious and a juſt God, or from reaſon, or from any concern for right and juſtice, and the good of men? And was it not evidently inſpired by the fouleſt ambition, by malice and rage, and every corrupt and ungodly paſſion? Could they after this expect to be truſted or reſpected by men, they who had ſhewn themſelves ſuch reſtleſs enemies to ſociety and the good of men?

To vindicate the Deity from the impious charge of protecting Tyrants, to maintain the cauſe of Liberty, and ſhew its bleſſings, to aſſert the rights of men and of ſociety, and to diſplay the ſad conſequences of public corruption, with the beauty and benefit of public virtue, is the deſign of theſe diſcourſes. The deſign I hope is pardonable, and in purſuing it I can truly ſay, that I was utterly diveſted of all perſonal paſſions, of every partiality, friendſhip or enmity, and utterly free from any view to hurt or to flatter any man in the world. If I inveigh againſt any of the dead, or praiſe them, it is for a warning and incitement to the living. To explain the evils of Tyranny lay directly in my way, and tended to ſhew the value, the ineſtimable value of Liberty.

What ſo nearly concerns the happineſs of all men, it imports every man to know. It is but knowing their birthright, with the meaſures of ſecuring it, as alſo the peril and ways of loſing it, and the curſe attending the loſs. It is a ſubject of infinite availment, and comprehends whatever is dear to men in the world; it furniſhes the ſtrongeſt truths, the cleareſt reaſonings, and is perplexed with no intricacies. The great queſtion ariſing from it, is chiefly this, whether men have a right to what God and Nature has given them, to what their own Laws and Conſtitutions confirm to them, to what the Oaths and Duty of their Magiſtrates teſtify to belong to them: Whether that ſort of go-

vernment which is evidently beſt for men, be well pleaſing to the Deity, or whether he eſpouſes and approves the worſt. What queſtion ever admitted of a clearer anſwer? Yet what tomes of nonſenſe and ungodly falſhoods have been publiſhed about it, to ſanctify oppreſſion, to blaſt and overthrow all the natural and civil rights of men!

Common happineſs and ſecurity are the ends of ſociety; to procure theſe ends is the duty of Governors; where they are procured it is the duty of ſubjects to obey, and reverence, and ſupport their Governors. Where ſuch ends are not purſued, but, in oppoſition to them, power degenerates into violence, and ſubjection into ſlavery; where meer will and paſſion bear rule, where univerſal miſery and dread and open oppreſſion prevail, can Government be ſaid to exiſt? No; this is not the exerciſe of Government, but of hoſtility; and to reſiſt an enemy is but ſelf-defence; it is the law and duty of nature. Is it not repugnant to nature and to all common ſenſe, to reverence evil, to be fond of the author of evil, and to conceive that any duty is due to him? Was it poſſible for the Romans to love Tiberius, poſſible to eſteem Caligula or Nero? It is enough that people love ſuch as love them, that they eſteem thoſe who protect and relieve them.

DISCOURSE I.

Of the Emperors who are the ſubject of the foregoing Hiſtory: Of their Miniſters, their Misfortunes, and the cauſes of their Fall.

Sect. I. An Idea of NERO's Reign, how mildly it began, how terrible it grew. The deceitfulneſs of proſperity.

NERO at firſt propoſed to reign after the model of Auguſtus, and, upon all occaſions, courted the fame of Clemency, Liberality and Courteſy; did every thing that was generous and benevolent to the Public; ſhewed every act of mercy and tenderneſs to particulars; wiſhed, that he could not write, when he was to ſign an execution; was continually doing popular and expenſive things. For theſe he was extremely flattered: Flattery infatuated him with vanity; and by his extravagances he became neceſſitous. Hence the beginning of his cruelty and rapine. He ſurrendered himſelf intirely to a courſe of luxury, and engaged the City in it; loved Shews and Pantomimes, found the people loved them, and thence promoted them aſſiduouſly and continually, and at laſt obliged men of the firſt quality to act in them, as he himſelf did.

This courſe at laſt grew tireſome, he firſt became contemptible, then hated. He threw off all care of public affairs and the duty of an Emperor, to attend the Theatre, and gain the unprincely glory of ſinging and acting. There followed continual murders,

ders, parricides, falſe accuſations and exceſſes, as if his life had been a conſtant ſtruggle to ſhew how wicked, how execrably bad, a human creature veſted with great power may be. He murdered his brother Britannicus, murdered his mother Agrippina, his wife Octavia, his wife Poppæa, Antonia his wife's ſiſter, becauſe ſhe would not marry him, Veſtinus the Conſul to have his wife; murdered moſt of his own kindred, all of them that were ſignal for merit or fortune, or ſplendor, or popularity, Rufius Criſpinus his wife's ſon, Seneca his ancient Præceptor and Counſellor, with Burrus Captain of his guards, a venerable and excellent perſon: as alſo all the rich freedmen at court, all ſuch ancient men as had at firſt promoted his adoption, and then his ſovereignty. At laſt he murdered men by heaps with their families and children, by the knife, by poiſon, by drowning, by ſtarving, by torture and caſting them headlong; and all for any cauſe or no cauſe, ſome for their name or that of their anceſtors, ſome for their faces, looks and temper. He robbed the Provinces, robbed the Temples, waſted the public Treaſure, murdered the beſt men, oppreſſed all, and brought all things into a ſtate of diſſolution and deſolation. Theſe with him were the meaſures of Government, ſuch as he ſaid his predeceſſors (though brutal and raging Tyrants) had failed in, and he blamed them for not underſtanding their own power[a]. He deſtroyed Rome by fire, meant to deſtroy the Senate by the ſword, and rejoiced at the firſt tydings of a revolt, as thence he hoped for a pretence to ſack and pillage the Provinces.

Princes in the flow of their power and grand fortune (things ſo apt to turn the head and ſwell

[a] Negavit quemquam principum ſciſſe quod ſibi liceret.

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the heart) ſhould prevent overmuch giddineſs and inſolence, naturally cleaving to grandeur, by ſuppoſing themſelves now and then in a ſtate of diſtreſs, and conſidering the great poſſibility of a change: They ſhould at leaſt put themſelves in the place of others, their ſubjects and inferiors, and as they would then wiſh to be uſed by their Prince, let them uſe their People. They ſhould reflect how much a tumult of ſpirit cauſed by proſperity darkens or ſuſpends the underſtanding; they therefore ought to ſuſpend their joy and ſtifle their vanity and paſſions, to conſult and exerciſe their reaſon. Inſtead of this, they ſeldom quit their exultation till that quits them, nor hear reaſon till reaſon can do them no good, but only ſerve to reproach and torment them. Crœſus King of Lydia could not bear the behaviour of Solon, for telling him honeſt truth and refuſing to magnify his power and felicity. But when misfortune and captivity had abated his pride, and brought him to his ſenſes; when he who had been lately ſo elated and happy, ſaw a dreadful doom prepared for him, he could ſigh, and call mournfully upon the name of Solon, and prefer his wiſdom to the wealth of the world. Crœſus ſeems to have been a man of ſenſe and natural moderation, but blinded by fortune and flattery.

Sect. II. The weakneſs of GALBA, and the iniquities of his Miniſters.

GALBA, with an heart altogether upright and well-meaning, for want of prudence, activity and a good head, fell into meaſures quite unpopular and odious. His ſeverity to the ſoldiery was ill-timed, ſo was his ſtrictneſs and parcimony; and he who was a new Prince, uneſtabliſhed, and ſhould

ſhould have courted all men becauſe he wanted the aſſiſtance of all, behaved himſelf ſo as to diſoblige the Armies, the Senate, the Equeſtrian Order, and the People. Beſides, he was blindly controuled, and his authority abuſed by his ſervants and miniſters, men who were continually proſtituting the credit and character of their Maſter to their own vile gain and wicked paſſions. By them all things were ſet to ſale, Offices, Provinces, public Revenues, public Juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old, they were inſatiable, and eager to make the moſt of a ſhort reign; and as he was eaſy and credulous, they were daring and rapacious. From him they enjoyed their place and honours and all their advantages, but employed the ſame not for his benefit, but their own: Nay, every ſervice which they did to themſelves was pernicious to him, ſince whilſt they reaped all the profit, he bore all the odium.

In truth no Prince will be long reckoned good, when his Miniſters are known to be bad; and if they are much hated, he will not be much beloved. Few Princes, if any, eſcape reproach where their Miniſters are believed to deſerve it. It muſt be owned that Miniſters are often wronged, and ſuffer imputations very ill-grounded and unjuſt; nay, perhaps, will be ever doomed to ſuffer ſuch, from the nature of their poſt and power; and where they do ſo, it is but reaſonable and generous to protect them. But here the guilt was glaring and their iniquities manifeſt to all men but Galba. He whom of all men it moſt imported to know it, knew it not. As he never inquired into their behaviour, nor blamed it, they never mended it, nor feared him. The ſad fate which this their corruption and his own indolence and incurioſity brought upon him, is a ſufficient warning to Princes either never to truſt implicitly to the advice and conduct

of

of any Miniſters, or at leaſt to be well aſſured that the men are ſuch as may be implicitly truſted. The beſt of them have weakneſſes, and paſſions, and partialities, enow to lead them into raſhneſs and miſtakes: There are therefore perhaps none of them ſo perfectly innocent and wiſe, as to render a diſcerning Prince ſecure that their management, however uninſpected, however unaccountable, will yet be righteous and immaculate. Miniſters no more than their Maſters ought to be left without reſtriction and controul. It may perhaps be right in ſome few inſtances to deceive a Prince, it may be of public advantage to miſlead the Public: But ſuch a latitude will be ever more likely to be abuſed than well applied.

Sect. III. The folly of the evil meaſures purſued by theſe Miniſters, how pernicious to themſelves and to the Emperor.

NOT to dwell upon the ingratitude and vileneſs of Galba's Miniſters, thus to abuſe, diſcredit and ruin a Prince to whom they owed all things, and to ſacrifice him, his glory and diadem, to ſordid intereſt, which was the ſmalleſt thing that they ought to have ſacrificed for him, their ancient Emperor, and ſo good a Maſter; the meaſures which they took proved pernicious to themſelves. Their policy was folly, and though they purſued nothing but their intereſt, they were not intereſted enough. The beſt intereſt is that which provides for our own reputation and ſecurity. Now the Miniſters of Galba, by every ſtep which they took, invited and haſtened their own doom. Their ſafety and eſtabliſhment depended upon his, and theſe they were continually weakening and rendering odious and contemptible, and themſelves deteſtable.

able. Their daily oppreſſions, their daily acts of venality and rapine, multiplied their enemies without meaſure. Nay, to their own enormous guilt they added the odium of that of others, even that of the moſt execrable inſtruments of Nero's Tyranny, Tigellinus and Halotus, men whoſe execution was demanded by the univerſal voice of the Roman People. Indeed had theſe two ſons of blood been leſs guilty than they really were, it had been but juſt, as well as politic and popular, to have devoted their impure lives to the Manes of ſo many illuſtrious Romans murdered by them, and to the honeſt rage of the Public. But this was only juſtice and reaſon, it was only obliging the People and ſtrengthening their Maſter: ſmall conſiderations with Vinius, and Lacc, and Icelus, in compariſon of filling their coffers and gratifying private paſſions! They protected both; and thence gained to their Prince what they never ſtudied to avert, infinite public hate, but to themſelves what they aimed at, and what every one may conjecture. It is probable too that they dreaded the precedent of puniſhing any man for having done what they themſelves were doing. Yet their very wealth contributed to their deſtruction and that of their families.

But beſides the influence of money and example, Titus Vinius who chiefly protected Tigellinus, had another view which is finely expreſſed by Tacitus; namely, 'thence to purchaſe means of ſhelter and 'eſcape in time to come. For this is the policy of 'every deſperate offender, from diſtruſt of preſent 'fortune, and dread of change, to arm himſelf 'betimes with private favour againſt the public 'hate. Hence it comes, that for the protection 'of innocence no regard is ſhewn; but the guilty 'combine for mutual exemption from puniſhment.' Such was the ſelfiſh wiſdom of Vinius: But his wiſdom

wiſdom proved weakneſs; for, by protecting the abhorred Tigellinus, he drew freſh abhorrence upon himſelf. The People, after Otho had ſucceeded, were ſo bent upon the execution of Tigellinus, that an uproar enſued, and many ſeditious clamours, till the ſentence was paſſed for his doom, now over-late, as it was plainly forced, and therefore could claim no thanks. For, under Otho too, the ſame policy and corruption prevailing, juſtice againſt that monſter was hardly procured.

Such confederacies between guilty men in power and guilty men out of power, are frequent and natural; and no man who is corrupt or intends to be, will care to join in puniſhing any man for corruption. Mucianus, the prime Confident of Veſpaſian, entertained the Senate with a long diſcourſe in behalf of the Accuſers. Yes, the Favourite of Veſpaſian, a Prince who profeſſed to cure and remove the miſchiefs of former tyranny, became an advocate for the Accuſers, the foreſt inſtruments of that tyranny. How conſiſtent was this! and what hopes it muſt give the Senate and People of Rome of ſeeing better days? What came he for? If it was to ſave the Romans, why ſave their worſt enemies? If he meant altogether to ſecure the Flock, why ſo tender of the Wolves, unleſs he found wolfiſh inclinations in himſelf? What a comfortable reflection to the Public, that after myriads of men ſlain, after ſo many millions ſpent, after ſo many ſtruggles and battles, and ſo much crying deſolation, they were to have no change but that of names, and no Prince without oppreſſors! The Candidates for place and power are always bent upon public reformation, till they have an opportunity of making one, and then find it needleſs, or dangerous, or unſeaſonable. They are great enemies to oppreſſion, till they are in a capacity of oppreſſing.

oppreſſing. Then, as their own guilt grows, they become very merciful to the guilty. This is the ſpirit of man, this the round of things. Great redreſſes are ſtill wanted, ſtill promiſed, ſtill unperformed. Such Mockery is not new, and never will be old.

All wickedneſs is folly; nor can I recollect an inſtance where evil doings have not been followed by painful conſequences to the doers. They were either diſappointed, or found new difficulties, or met with infamy and mortification, or inſecurity, or ſome grief and uneaſineſs after the iniquity, ſuch as rendered the committing of it a greater affliction than pleaſure. Neither in the fortune of Alexander, or Cæſar, or Mahomet, or of any other the moſt reſplendent criminal againſt Truth, and Liberty, and Peace, is ought to be found to invalidate this reaſoning. Even in their beloved purſuits of power, they could have no pure delight: Though they valued not the liberties and lives of men, yet as they valued their own ſecurity, and ſucceſs, and fame, they muſt needs feel many inward ſtruggles, many apprehenſions and diſtruſts, many doubts about the iſſue, many anxieties for themſelves, and their party and cauſe [a]. If worthy purſuits alſo are often attended with evils, the teſtimony of a good conſcience and of good men at leaſt makes theſe evils the lighter.

However true or diſputable theſe ſpeculations be, it is certain that the Miniſters of Galba, by their corrupt and ſelfiſh management, brought a bloody fate upon themſelves as well as upon their Prince; a Prince who, from the integrity of his intention,

[a] Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus et ictus—ſævitia, libidine, malis conſultis animus diſlaceretur.

merited

merited a better, but from his blind reliance upon ſuch wicked men could not reaſonably hope for any other.

Sect. IV. GALBA's blindneſs in truſting intirely to his Favourites, who by their wickedneſs blaſted his reign, and their own hopes.

HAD Galba been bleſſed with good Counſellors, he would in all probability have proved an excellent Prince. He had many public and private virtues; he was temperate, frugal, free from ambition, an enemy to the inſolence of the ſoldiery, and wiſhed well to the Commonwealth. But what availed his good qualities, when he exerciſed them not? He himſelf robbed no man, but thoſe under him robbed all men; and he, who ſhould not have employed bad men, or at leaſt ſhould have reſtrained or puniſhed them, incurred the ſame cenſure and blame as if he himſelf had done the evil, or authoriſed it. The People juſtly expect protection and paternal uſage from their Prince, and where they find it not, will think the Prince anſwerable. Why does he undertake the Office? Why is he raiſed ſo high above others, and all men, but for the good of all? Why was Nero depoſed, if things were not mended under Galba? Why a new Prince choſen, but for the eaſe of the Public after a reign of Violence and Tyranny? Vain is the change of men, where meaſures are not changed [a].

Galba left the adminiſtration, he left his own fate and glory to his Favourites; and his Fa-

[a] Eadem novæ aulæ mala, æquè gravia, non æquè excuſata.

vourites sold him to dishonour, and a violent death, turned the State into a market and shambles; and whilst they were yet glutting their cruelty and avarice, the hand of vengeance overtook them, though it was reasonably judged that some of them had tried to secure a retreat, and had purposely betrayed Galba to merit favour from Otho. It is the way of such men: when they have foolishly or wantonly ruined their Master's affairs, their last office to him is to revolt from him, and perhaps it proves the first instance of their dealing sincerely with him. But whether they really meditated treason or not, they were believed to have done it: Such was the public opinion of their vileness and falshood; and such always will be the general rule of judging, that from men notoriously wicked every sort and degree of wickedness will be apprehended.

It is worth observing here how short-sighted and imperfect was the ambition of these men, and how foolishly, as well as wickedly, they marred what they aimed at. Was it glory and power? By consulting and establishing those of their Master, they would have reaped an abundant share to themselves. Good men would have applauded and assisted them; bad men would have feared them: They would have had inward peace, perhaps protection, from their own good works, reverence from the public voice, and the praises of posterity. By the same honest means they might have acquired wealth, and ample fortunes, with the approbation of all men, and probably left it to the peaceable possession of their families. They had the largest opportunities for raising and establishing their name: They were the first Ministers in the great and opulent Empire of Rome, vested with the first dignities, and first in favour; and they served a Prince easy to his servants, too easy, one never disposed to check or change them.

As

As he came to the Empire with great expectation, and popular favour, had his administration proved steady and virtuous, all revolts might have been prevented, or, through his superior credit and strength, easily defeated, and he might have gone to his grave in peace and glory. Both his Rivals were in their persons extremely unpopular, both loathed for their vices, both desperately poor, neither of them esteemed in War, neither thought qualified for the arts of Peace, one a stupid Glutton, one an abandoned Debauchee. He himself had conducted Armies with renown, governed Provinces with integrity. His race was noble, his life innocent; he possessed great wealth, and was by all men esteemed capable and worthy of swaying the Sceptre. What more probable, than that his reign might have lasted peaceably as long as his life, had his reign been well conducted? where a fairer prospect for his Ministers than under himself? By betraying him they betrayed themselves: by ill serving him, they ruined themselves. What could they expect from Otho or Vitellius, but to be considered as real Traitors, or at best as corrupt and wretched Counsellors? the former always detested, the latter always despised, even by such as profit by them. Amurath the Turkish Emperor cut off the head of the Persian Governor who betrayed a City into his hands. Myr Mahmud dealt severely with those who had held a traiterous correspondence with him from Ispahan, declared their names infamous, their estates confiscated, and had them all put to death, and their carcasses thrown into the streets. Thus too the Emperor Maximin served Macedo who had prompted his bosom-friend Quartinus to revolt, and then slew him to make a merit with Maximin, who, for all his wicked merit, put him to death.

Sect.

Sect. V. The infatuation of men in power; they generally rely upon it as never to end, and thence boldly follow the bent of their passions. Instances of this. Guilty Ministers how dangerous.

WHAT I have observed in the last Section was reasonable and obvious. But in the tumult of rampant passions, reason is not heard. Those ministers were transported with the sudden change of their condition, and giddy with the direction of Imperial Power. The present temptation, the prevailing appetite was too strong to be resisted; and, without regard to consequences, to the Emperor's honour and safety, to the public good, to their own infamy and danger, they blindly followed every impulse of concupiscence and revenge. Men in a torrent of prosperity seldom think of a day of distress, or great men, that their greatness will ever cease. This seems to be a sort of a curse upon power, a vanity and infatuation blended with the nature of it: as if it were possible, nay, easy, to bind the fickleness of fortune, and ensure happiness for a term of years. It is from this foolish assurance, often cleaving to very able men, that those in authority often act with such boldness and insolence, as if their reign were never to end, and they were for ever secure against all after-reckonings, all casualties and disgrace. From whence else comes it, but from such blind security in the permanence of their condition, and in the impunity of their actions, that Ministers have sometimes concerted schemes of general oppression and pillage, schemes to depreciate or evade the Laws, restraints upon Liberty, and projects for arbitrary Rule?

Rule? Had they thought that ever they themſelves ſhould ſuffer in the common oppreſſion, Would they have adviſed methods of oppreſſing? Would they have been for weakening or abrogating the Laws, had they dreamed that they ſhould come to want the protection of Law? Would they have aimed at aboliſhing Liberty, had they apprehended that they were at any time to fall from power; or at eſtabliſhing deſpotic Rule, but for the ſake of having the direction of it againſt others, without feeling its weight and terrors in their own particulars?

A great man near an hundred years ago is charged with having contrived ſuch a model of government for one of our Engliſh Kings, as was intirely arbitrary and Turkiſh, a model deliberately digeſted in writing. Such a monſtrous change of mind had enſued the change of his condition: Formerly he had breathed a very different and oppoſite ſpirit, and aſſerted Liberty with uncommon zeal: It was when he came to ſway the State that he altered his ſtile; which it is probable he would not have altered, had he not imagined that his ſway was to have no end. He lived to ſee it at an end. He, who had but too lightly eſteemed Laws and Liberty, and the Lives of men, was bereft of Liberty and Life in a manner contrary to the forms of Law; and as he had promoted lawleſs and unaccountable power, he fell by an effort of power, unuſual and extraordinary. A wicked Miniſter, who declared in a ſucceeding reign, that he hoped to ſee the King's Edicts (that is, his abſolute will and humour) have the force of Laws, and paſs for Laws, made this declaration in plenitude of favour, which, as he meant not by any virtue of his to loſe, he hoped never to forfeit; made it at a time when his head would have been employed in framing ſuch Edicts. When afterwards he was abandoned to diſgrace, I truſt he

had different sentiments about kingly power, and perhaps would not willingly have seen his life and estate taken away by a proclamation.

Such a reverse in the fortunes of men, especially of great men, who depend upon the caprice, and whim, and breath of another, were easy to be imagined, did not self-love darken the understanding. The greatest men; nay, the wisest men, when they are blind, are exceeding blind. How few of them have provided against an evil day! How few secured themselves a resource of friendship and affection from the Public, in case of a storm at Court, and the frowns of a Crown! nay, what some of them have done to serve the Crown against the People, has been a motive with the Crown (and a politic motive, though not always a just one, at least not generous) to sacrifice them to the pleasure and revenge of the People. Thus Cæsar Borgia used Romiro D'Orco, Governor of Romagna, one first employed to commit cruelties, then executed for having committed them; and thus the Great Turk often uses his Bashaws.

To return to Galba; no Prince was ever more unhappy in his Favourites: They were very wicked, very guilty men; nor can any Prince, who entertains such, be happy or secure. Mr. Selden, discoursing of Edward II. and his Minions, says, 'Thus Favourites, instead of cement between 'Prince and People, becoming rocks of offence, 'bring ruin sometimes to all, but always to them-'selves.' Those of Galba had but their deserts: Their Master merited a better fate, and chiefly through their guilt his blood was shed. Great guilt in Ministers is threatning to a Prince. When they can no longer support their Master, nor their Master them, their next course will probably be to desert him, or to rebel against him. As by

their

their wicked adminiſtration they had betrayed his intereſt and dignity, deſtroyed his reputation, the deareſt intereſt which a Prince can have, incenſed and eſtranged the minds of his people, who are the ſureſt ſupport which a Prince can rely on, it is by no means unnatural, if at laſt they deſtroy him whom they had already undone. I ſhall hereafter prove this by many examples.

Sect. VI. Weak and evil Princes rarely profit by able Miniſters; they like flatterers better: Theſe fruſtrate the good advice of others.

EVEN when theſe Roman Emperors happened to have good Miniſters, they rarely made any good uſe of them, but followed the advice of others and worſe: For with bad they were always provided. Hence it is, that as a weak or an evil Prince ſeldom has good counſel, he is ſeldom the better for it when he has. Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celſus were able men, and probably would have made the cauſe of Otho triumphant, had Otho purſued their counſels. But about all ſuch Princes, for one honeſt or able man, there will be many fooliſh and baſe, and it is great odds but theſe have much more influence and weight; as they are more forward and impudent, more poſitive and ſanguine, more prone to flatter him, and aſſure him of ſucceſs (a method which goes great lengths with Princes;) and, as they are worſe judges of meaſures, leſs concerned about events. Perhaps too they have already made, or mean to make terms for themſelves, whatever becomes of their Maſter. So Cæcina came to deſert Vitellius, and to eſpouſe the cauſe of Veſpaſian, when he was aſſured that the merits of his treaſon would be rewarded by the latter. Perhaps they

are bent upon the ruin of ſome Rival at Court. For this has alſo happened, that men have betrayed their own cauſe out of pique to ſome particular Leader in it; Armies have been often ſuffered, by one of the Commanders, to be cut to pieces, purely to bring diſgrace upon the other, and Laco, Captain of the guards to Galba, even in the laſt ſtruggle of his Prince for ſaving his life and Empire, oppoſed every council, however wholeſome, which came from any one elſe, particularly from Titus Vinius.

Titianus, Otho's brother, and Proculus, Captain of his guards, thwarted and fruſtrated every good advice, every rational project of Paulinus and Celſus, and as they were better flatterers, they were better heard. They were both very wicked men; Proculus particularly excelled in ſlander and whiſpering, and was an adroit Courtier. It was thus that this man, full of craft and injuſtice, came eaſily to ſurpaſs in credit all who were more righteous than himſelf. Otho, moreover, as well as theſe his Favourites, dreaded and diſtruſted every able man, relied chiefly upon tale-bearers, and made his chief court to the common ſoldiers. So did Vitellius, and ſo probably will moſt weak and guilty Princes. They diſlike to ſee any man exceed them in proweſs, and public eſtimation, or to poſſeſs the credit ariſing from addreſs, good conduct and military exploits. Nay, ſuch of them as moſt eminently want Governors, are ſometimes the moſt fearful of being governed. Lewis the thirteenth dreaded the great capacity of Cardinal Richelieu, and hated his perſon; as did Nero the perſon and authority of Seneca.

The danger of ſerving ſuch Princes ill, is not greater than that of ſerving them over-well, nor perhaps ſo great: and many great Miniſters and Generals have been ill uſed and undone for doing

eminent ſervice, and diſcharging their duty with applauſe; ſuch as Caius Silius, Antonius Primus, and Gonſalo, the great Spaniſh Captain, under Ferdinand the Catholic. From this weakneſs and pride of theirs, they are ſometimes prone of themſelves to follow the advice of weak counſellors rather than of ſuch as are able and ſufficient, partly from jealouſy of the latter, partly from an ambition of being thought to do notable things without them, and of reaping all the praiſe themſelves, at leaſt of ſeeing it reaped by ſuch whoſe moderate ability and character gives them no umbrage.

Hence the ſignal miſcarriages of Princes who have wiſe Miniſters but neglect their wiſe advice. Nero was aſſiſted, or might have been, by the counſels of Seneca and Burrus, and it was no fault of theirs that he proved a deteſtable Tyrant. What advice he took, was that of Sycophants, Debauchees, Pandars, of the worſt and off-caſt of humankind. Theſe told him what an accompliſhed Prince he was, what ripeneſs of judgment he had, what maturity of years; and being no longer a child, it was high time for him to ſhake off his Tutor. For towards Seneca they bore notable rancour and antipathy, as was natural to ſuch profligates who then ſwarmed at Court; and whilſt he was there, he ſtill proved ſome check to the brutal ſpirit of Nero; a thing which pleaſed not the Courtiers, nor Nero himſelf: For with ſuch Princes flattery in their ſervants is more palatable and prevailing than virtue and ability.

Sect. VII. How difficult it is for a worthy man to serve a bad Prince, and how dangerous.

IN like manner was Otho hurried through evil counsel and conduct into evil fortune, though served by such Leaders as Paulinus and Celsus. Such is the risque which an able and worthy man incurs by serving a weak Prince, even to have his good counsels rejected, and to bear the blame and discredit of evil counsels which he had disapproved. For upon the most signal Minister all the reproach will be apt to rest, and he must bear the infamy of the worst; nor perhaps will it be safe for him to disown the foolish and disastrous measures which he opposed, lest he thence cast a blemish upon his Master. Even some able Princes have looked with an evil eye upon the person and credit of an able Minister, and perhaps it is the safest way of advising the best of them, to let the advice seem to come from themselves. Such is the slippery situation of good Ministers under Princes wise or weak; a situation not to be envied.

Otho miscarried: and as Paulinus and Celsus were thought his directors, they were likewise thought traitors; so infamous were the measures which he had pursued, and which they in truth had opposed. Yet afterwards Paulinus and Proculus meanly descended, for their own safety, to confess that they had contrived them purposely; and for favour from Vitellius pleaded the merit of having betrayed Otho. Vitellius too was vain enough to believe, that, out of pure regard for him, they had really stained themselves with such foul dishonour. It was shameful to own that they had,

had, though they had not. But ſo differently do men conſtrue actions done for them and againſt them, and ſo rare it is to find the braveſt men completely brave, any more than the wiſeſt men completely wiſe. The qualities of all men are limited, and ſubject to inconſtancy; elſe ſuch a man as Paulinus, who had ſo often ventured his life for glory, would never have ſtudied to ſave it by infamy. It was, however, much leſs criminal to aſſume guilt, than to have earned it.

It muſt be owned, it required either very great virtue or very great folly to ſerve ſuch Princes as ſome of theſe Emperors were; though it was cruel and unjuſt to betray them. By raiſing to the Diadem ſuch men as Otho and Vitellius, it looked as if the deſign had been, not to find one fit to reſtore the Roman State, ſhaken, ravaged, and tyrannized by the bloody Nero, but to chuſe one purely for his reſemblance of that Monſter, one as monſtrous as he. They were both guilty of the ſame debauchery and exceſſes, both ſtudied to imitate him, and to reſtore his name and honours; nay, divine honours were already paid ſolemnly to his Manes. It was even reckoned one of Otho's qualifications for reigning, that in his manners he ſo nearly reſembled Nero. For this the ſoldiers adored him; and for this the common people loved him, as they had Nero, and as the vulgar ever will any man who gratifies them with idleneſs, and the means of debauchery. What, for example, is more pernicious to a State, to public Virtue, to private Induſtry and Innocence, than rioting and idle holy-days? Yet what more dear to the populace than ſuch debauched and riotous days, and the holy idle men who encourage them? I ſpeak of Italy, and other Popiſh countries.

In ſerving ſuch Princes, there was neither honour nor ſecurity to one's ſelf, nor benefit to the

Public. Their chief delight was in feats of prodigality and voluptuouſneſs, in Jeſters, Pathics and Buffoons, and all the execrable retainers to Nero's Court. They thought that the buſineſs of Sovereignty conſiſted in exceſſes and ſenſuality. Their meaſures of Government were to oppreſs and exhauſt the State, to depreſs or deſtroy every good man, to countenance and employ the moſt profligate: Or, if they employed men of merit, they did it againſt their will, and the more they were obliged to ſuch men, the more they hated them; as Vitellius did Junius Blæſus, a man nobly born, of a princely ſpirit, and equal fortune, one who ſerved him generouſly, and at a vaſt expence furniſhed him with a princely train, which the great poverty of Vitellius could not yet afford: For all this he incurred the Emperor's diſtaſte, and was repaid in hollow flattery, and ſincere hate. Who could chearfully ſerve a creature whom he could not help deſpiſing, and probably had cauſe to fear, one by whom he knew himſelf dreaded, perhaps hated?

Sect. VIII. Under wicked Princes, how natural and common it is to wiſh for a change. Their different treatment living and dead. In what a Prince is chiefly to confide.

DOubtleſs all good men, all prudent men, all who wiſhed the good of the Empire, the tranquillity of Rome, and ſecurity to themſelves, had their eye upon a change. A better there might be, a worſe there could not. All endeavours exerted in behalf of ſuch raſh, raging and polluted Tyrants, tended only to prolong public miſery and diſgrace, as well as the ruin and perils of particulars.

lars. They who ſerved them with moſt applauſe, muſt expect diſtruſt and ill uſage in return, at beſt to be diſmiſſed, perhaps to be deſtroyed, as was that glorious Commander Corbulo by Nero, and the illuſtrious Agricola thought to have been by Domitian. Men wicked and corrupt are always ſuſpicious; and it was natural for them to dread and hate the beſt men for being the beſt. Nor could either Otho or Vitellius, with a good grace, complain of being deſerted and betrayed. It was no more than they themſelves had done to Galba, who confided in them whilſt they were revolting from him.

Beſides, ſuch was their character with the Public and the public opinion concerning them, ſuch the wrong meaſures which they took, ſuch the weak and evil counſellors whom they followed, that it was manifeſt they could not ſtand. And when Princes begin to totter, the zeal of their adherents always begins to ſlacken. They who were the foremoſt to flatter them, are alſo foremoſt to cenſure them; and, as a Prince in power never fails to have merit and applauſe, a Prince who is fallen or falling, never wants faults and reproach. It was thus with Galba: How much zeal, how many warm profeſſions did he find whilſt he ſtood? How many upbraidings, how much contumely purſued him after he fell? It was thus with Otho, thus with Vitellius. They were adored and traduced, as fortune was ſeen to eſpouſe them or to forſake them. And thus it will be with all Princes. It is ſeldom that they will hear truth, ſeldom that others will venture to tell it. They muſt therefore form a judgment of the opinion of the Public, and of their own ſtability, from their own actions and adminiſtration, from the character of the Miniſters whom they employ, and of the meaſures which they purſue, and not from the ſayings and ſoothings of thoſe about them, nor from the ſhouts of a crowd,

nor from the fidelity of their Generals. All these lights may be deceitful, and have deceived many. But a righteous conduct may be boldly trusted. At worst, who would not rather fall by it, than subsist by vileness and iniquity? He who falls through virtue is a gainer, whatever he loses; as he who gains by wickedness is certainly a loser, whatever he gains. Virtue is equivalent to all things, and the wages of wickedness are worse than nothing. Nor is this speculation only, and mere refining, but holds in practice, and the commerce of life.

DISCOURSE II.

Of competition amongst the Ministers of a Prince, and their corruption. The evil effects of indolence in a Prince.

Sect. I. Discord between Ministers, how fatal to their Masters.

THE strife and discord between the Ministers of a Prince, who wants authority to controul them, and capacity to make advantage of their difference, never fail to be of mischievous consequence. The Ministers of Galba were daily striving not to serve him, not to save the State, but to distress and disappoint one another. Between the Ministers of Vitellius the like enmity prevailed. He could do nothing without them, they did nothing but contend with one another; and by seeming partial to Valens he provoked Cæcina to hate him, and at last revolt from him. For Sabinus (Vespasian's brother) knew his disgusts, and improved them; and by representing his

his unequal usage from Vitellius, drew him to embrace the party of Vespasian. Nor was this his desertion and infidelity a new or uncommon thing: It is the usual result of such competitions. When an ambitious man cannot engross the whole power and favour, he will renounce what he has, though ever so much, and concur with an enemy to pull down a rival. With such men the fear of public and avowed enemies is not so prevalent and alarming as that of a secret Competitor. Cardinal Mazarin was abhorred by the faction of the Frondeurs, yet concerted with them for the ruin of the Prince of Condé, even when the Frondeurs were offering the Prince their assistance to destroy the Cardinal, whom the Prince had protected from their vengeance. The Prince afterwards, in emulation to the Cardinal, called in the Spaniards, the natural enemies of France.

The vile and malicious Eunuchs, they who governed all things under Schah Hussein, Emperor of Persia (a few years since deposed by the Agvans) were more afraid of their own Generals, especially if they proved honest and able, than of these Barbarians and public enemies. They were therefore continually destroying every brave commander, and thence daily advancing the interest and conquests of the invaders. This will account for their hasty and amazing success. Yet after they had gained many Provinces, were ravaging the heart of the Empire, and advancing with terror and rapidity to besiege the Capital, the Emperor having appointed a faithful and experienced General, had regained most of the country, and was upon the point of retrieving all; till the Eunuchs, the execrable governing Eunuchs, set themselves, with all their might and malice, to ruin his preserver and the preserver of the State, because no man

ſhould have more credit than themſelves. They effected their wicked purpoſe, and made that good-natured eaſy Prince believe, that his deliverer was his enemy, and they themſelves his only vigilant guardians, whilſt they were diſgracing his Government, and overturning his Throne.

When an army was defeated, one faction at Court (for the wretched Eunuchs were always divided into two) never failed to rejoice; as the General being preferred by one faction, was always and certainly maligned by the other. The loſs of Armies, the deſolation of the Kingdom, the diſhonour of their Royal Maſter, the miſeries of the poor unoffending People, touched them not. They hated domeſtic rivals more than public enemies. There followed, or rather there attended ſuch competition and miſrule, and intire diſſolution of government. No Magazines, no ſtores, no experienced officers; nothing fit for the field. Even when all was loſt but the Capital, and that was beſieged; when the ſword was preſſing them from without, fear and famine within, theſe mercileſs wretches forbore not to cabal againſt every effort for deliverance, becauſe no man ſhould have the glory of effecting it, and thence endanger or eclipſe them.

Sect. II. An indolent Prince a ready prey to the falſeſt and worſt of all men: Theſe diſgrace his Reign, and provoke his people.—Their amazing corruption.

WHEN a Prince neglects himſelf and his own credit, all men will be apt to neglect him. The worſt men will be ſure to gather about him, and then the beſt men cannot ſerve him.

Schah

Schah Huſſein had been ſerved by able Miniſters, brave Generals; but the Eunuchs diſappointed all their endeavours, and often deſtroyed their fortunes and lives. Weak and indolent Princes always truſt men too much or too little; and it behoves every Prince to be wary what ſort of perſons he entertains about him in any ſtation, ſince all ſuch, however low, will always have ſome degree of influence, and be able to hurt him. If they cannot miſlead him (which yet they will probably endeavour, probably accompliſh) they can at leaſt diſcredit him either by reviling him, or by behaving themſelves corruptly, and thence bring a ſtain upon him. For a Prince always ſuffers by the ill behaviour and depravity of his ſervants, eſpecially where they meddle in the diſtribution of favours or puniſhments.

Galba's common domeſtics and even his ſlaves were conſiderable enough to diſhonour the Sovereignty of their Maſter, becauſe they were known to ſell all places and all acts of grace. The Emperor, who ſhould have conſidered the deſert of particulars, ſhould have conſidered their capacity and pretenſions, as well as his own reputation and the juſtice of beſtowing benefits worthily, neglected this uſeful and important duty, and left it to the adminiſtration of his domeſtics, who diſcharged it to his reproach and their own gain. With theſe mercenary and faithleſs knaves it availed not how much or how faſt they diſgraced, and conſequently ruined their good old Maſter, provided they could by his indulgence and their own villainy acquire money: Though every ſtep that they took to raiſe themſelves in this diſhonourable way, was a ſtep taken to ſink him, ſince in his fame and reputation, which they were thus polluting and pulling down, his beſt ſtrength lay.

Indeed it never fails to ſour and provoke the People, People of all ranks, when they ſee underlings

lings and upſtarts, perhaps vagabonds and ſtrangers, riſe, by the mere countenance and indolence of a Prince, into pomp and wealth; ſee his Butler or his Barber poſſeſſed of fortune ſufficient for the qualifications of many Senators. If upon themſelves only they brought public odium, it were of little moment; but by ſuch infamous gain they bring infamy upon their Patron and their Prince, not to mention the juſt reſentment of all ſuch whoſe reaſonable pretenſions are thus defeated. So conſiderable is the evil and danger to a Prince in having venal minds about him. Galba was as much undone by the corruption of his ſervants, as by the corruption and violence of the ſoldiers.

To the Emperor Schah Huſſein there was no acceſs but through the favour of the Eunuchs, nor any merit conſidered by them but that of money. Theſe filthy ſlaves ſold the royal protection, ſold the royal favours to the beſt bidder, and made public traffic of public employments and juſtice. Hence all emulation in merit was extinguiſhed, where no ſufficiency, no virtue was regarded. Hence alſo public oppreſſion, with private extortion and rapine, in all forms; ſince they who had exhauſted themſelves to purchaſe places, were forced to exerciſe all ſorts of villainy and ſpoil to repay themſelves, and to feed their inſatiable Patrons the Eunuchs with continual bribes for protection and impunity. Thus all Perſia groaned under depredations and licenced ſpoilers. Formerly no thefts or robberies were known amongſt them, becauſe the Governors of the places and provinces were anſwerable for the damage, and took ſpecial care to prevent it. But under Schah Huſſein robbery was common, and even encouraged, becauſe the Governors had a ſhare, or, in civiller words, a perquiſite. Nor had they ought to fear from juſtice, for none was ſtirring. As long as they had prudence

dence and a purſe to ſee the Eunuchs, they might ſpoil and ravage without mercy or ſhame. He muſt be a very ſimple knave, unworthy to be an oppreſſor, who would not reſign a part to ſave himſelf and the whole.

The Eunuchs, the moſt barbarous bloodſuckers that Perſia had ever ſeen, were, forſooth, ſuch enemies to blood, that they taught the Emperor a cruel piece of falſe mercy, that of putting no man to death for any crime whatſoever. Thus theſe pious deceivers ſecured themſelves. Then by their advice he turned all puniſhments into pecuniary mulcts; but as his conſcience ſcrupled to receive amercements for ſin and crimes, they who taught his conſcience this tender leſſon for their own good, had the fingering of all theſe fines. Thus theſe gentle hypocrites enriched themſelves.

The public Tax in Perſia was fixed and certain, and every town paid yearly ſuch a limited and conſtant ſum. This the Governors could not alter: But as the mulcts for offences are arbitrary, they were diſcovering perpetual offences and raiſing perpetual fines, and thus pillaged the people of ſums mighty and uncertain. They uſed by theſe money-penalties to levy at once ſix times more upon ſome towns than theſe towns paid to the public Tax in a whole year. Even by the Governor of Iſaphan, the capital of the Empire, and ſeat of Government, thieves and robbers were put to ranſom. Such as had not robbed ſufficiently to ſatisfy him and gain his favour and a releaſe, were kept in jail, yet let out at nights to rob again and again; and by their laſt robberies they cleared themſelves of puniſhment for all the former.

Sect.

Sect. III. The Reign of an indolent Prince, how destructive it may prove, however harmless the man. Into what contempt he falls.

NOW whence all the abovementioned crying injustice, whence this absence of all equal protection and depravation of all Law in Persia; whence all this anarchy and spoil of the greater over the smaller, this general and rampant iniquity, this sacrifice and oppression of innocence? Came it not all from one root, the baseness and corruption of those about the Throne, and the weakness of him upon it? Schah Hussein was a Prince of infinite good-nature, full of generosity, full of mercy and compassion; his mind of that delicacy and tenderness, that he was startled and alarmed upon having shot a Duck in one of his canals, when he meant only to have frightened her. He thought himself polluted with blood, and for expiation had recourse to acts of devotion and alms-deeds. For he had likewise a world of religion; so much religion, that when fire had seized the great Hall of the Palace, full of wealth and rich furniture, he would not suffer it to be extinguished, for fear of opposing the decrees of Providence. He gave immense Charities, built Monasteries, endowed Hospitals, performed long Pilgrimages, one Pilgrimage of six hundred miles.

Now what availed his good-nature, what his compassion or his religion? He would not hurt a Duck, but suffered his Subjects to be pillaged and undone, brought war and desolation upon his Country. The poor man saw the Duck killed, but saw not the oppressions of his people, nor heard their cries. He seemed to have no other Kingdom

or

or care than his Seraglio. The Ladies there, not his Subjects, had all his time and benevolence; and the Governor of a City or Province was sure to please him, if he sent him a fine Woman! No matter how that Governor used or abused the People. About this Schah Hussein made no enquiry: If he had, his faithful advisers the Eunuchs were beforehand retained to make a favourable answer. In truth, these indulgent Tutors of his, had consulted his ease so much in withdrawing him from all the cares and fatigues of Government, by assuming the whole of that painful task to themselves, that he seemed not to believe himself interested in the concerns or fate of his own Empire. When he was told that the public enemy approached to Isaphan; he said, 'It was the business of the Ministers to look to that; they had armies ready. 'For his part, if his Palace at Farabath were but 'left him, he should be content.' Into what insensibility, what weakness, and, therefore, into what contempt, had this poor harmless Prince brought himself, by trusting blindly to selfish seducers.

Than a Prince, or a State, or great Man fallen into contempt, nothing is more contemptible, nothing is more insecure. This, I think, is an observation of Livy. Even that religious or rather superstitious turn, with which these designing hypocrites had bewitched Schah Hussein, the better to govern their Dupe by such ghostly fears, was of pernicious consequence to his People. In one long pilgrimage which he took, to visit the tomb of a Saint, as he travelled accompanied with all his Seraglio and a guard of sixty thousand men, he oppressed and ruined all the Provinces through which he passed, and wasted more treasure than would have served for many expeditions against the invaders of Persia.

A Prince

A Prince who neglects his affairs will always be contemned, and from the moment he is contemned, he ceases to be secure. People will be turning their eyes and minds towards a Successor, growing impatient for a change, and perhaps be ready to make one. At best, though they may wish him well, they cannot esteem him. What esteem could the Public entertain for Philip the fourth of Spain, when they saw him marching to defend his Kingdom against the French, accompanied, not with a number of Officers, but with a troop of Comedians. For such had been the contrivance of the Count Duke Olivares, to keep him from marching too fast, and from meddling with affairs, and seeing public mismanagements. What wonder if the affairs of that Prince were so loosely conducted, if his designs miscarried, and that great Monarchy, for so long a time, made so small a figure, when the Monarch himself was resigned to absolute indolence, and not he but his Favourites reigned? Small will be the credit of a Nation abroad, when the administration is loose or wretched at home, and small the regard for a Prince who exercises not the duty of one. Philip was a good man, but a bad King, as it is possible that a good King may be a bad man.

Sect. IV. A Prince beset with evil Counsellors, how fast he improves in evil.

A Prince who is naturally weak, or, which is the same thing, has ability, but does not apply it, is always sure of being surrounded by the worst of all men, who will be flocking about him as eagerly as a party of robbers about a rich booty, and will exert equal zeal to keep far from him all such who are not so bad as themselves. If they find

find him weak, they will make him wicked; if they find him wicked, they will make him worſe. If they cannot make him directly cruel, they will at leaſt make him idle, and idleneſs in a Prince is cruelty; ſince he who governs all men, ought to be more vigilant than all. A Prince who minds not affairs, let his intention be ever ſo good, is liable to be eternally abuſed and miſled; for without experience, and examination, and attending to the courſe of things, he can form no judgment about them; but muſt truſt altogether to the judgment and repreſentation of others, and thence becomes their property and machine.

The moſt miſchievous of all the Roman Emperors (and more miſchievous the world never ſaw) were yet made worſe by their Favourites and Flatterers. The cruelty of Tiberius was heightened by the bloody counſels of Sejanus; Macro promoted the monſtrous exceſſes of Caligula; and the brutal Nero was made more brutal by the inſtigation of Tigellinus. Of all human vermin the worſt are found in debauched Courts; and even a well-diſpoſed Prince, if he be but credulous and lazy, can hardly eſcape being managed and corrupted by them, eſpecially if he be addicted to pleaſure. They will be continually laying baits for him, deviſing new ſcenes of voluptuouſneſs, and keeping him immerſed in ſenſuality.

The Emperor Commodus was carefully educated by ſeveral learned men placed about him by his father the excellent Marcus Aurelius, who at his death left him in the hands of his own ancient friends and worthy Miniſters. But he ſoon became weary of virtuous Men, became ſoon corrupted by Flatterers and debauched Courtiers, abandoned the duty of an Emperor, and ſurrendered himſelf to eaſe and luxury. In this courſe he was encouraged by his reigning Favourites, particularly

ticularly by Cleander, who, whilſt he was ſunk in voluptuouſneſs, ſtudied to deſtroy him, and ſet up himſelf. Sejanus too, from managing the whole buſineſs of the Empire, found himſelf in a condition of aſpiring to be Emperor.

When a Prince runs thus, like Commodus, into theſe dangers (though they were dangers of his own making, and aroſe from his miſmanagement and folly) they ſour his ſpirit, make him diſtruſtful of all men, and thence miſchievous and cruel to all. Thus from purpoſes perhaps harmleſs at firſt, he becomes at laſt a Tyrant. This was the fate and character of Commodus, who in the beginning chiefly attended to pleaſure: This withdrew him from Government and the buſineſs of a Prince: Others ruled; he grew deſpiſed: Conſpiracies were formed againſt him: Theſe incenſed him; and from being an idle voluptuary, he commenced a bloody Tyrant. He greedily hearkened to all ſlanders, all defamations; thought all men wicked; contracted fierce enmity to every thing that was good; abhorred and baniſhed from his preſence all men who had virtue or wiſdom, as men ill ſorting with his reign and genius, and degenerated into a devouring ſavage; would ſee none about him but Buffoons, Pimps, Pandars, Gladiators and Charioteers, wretches as polluted as himſelf, and ſo vile as to give him no umbrage; and ſet himſelf to butcher and deſtroy all who were obnoxious to him or them. Hence he grew further deteſted, and found that he was; and thence his freſh ſallies of Fury, and Tyranny. Such is the gradation, and ſo naturally does evil beget and multiply evil!

DIS-

DISCOURSE III.

Of public Frugality.

Sect. I. The Prodigality of the Emperors; its terrible consequences to the Public, namely, Tyranny, Murders and Oppression.

AMONGST all the weaknesses, vices, and excesses of the Roman Emperors who involved themselves and the Empire in calamities, none contributed more to their own ruin and that of the State, than their Profuseness and Prodigality. And upon all Princes and Countries in the world the same conduct will have the same effect. 'If by popular or vain-glorious bounties 'we exhaust the Exchequer, by rapine and op-'pressions we must supply it;' said Tiberius very wisely. It was what his mad Successor did; he wasted the public money, then robbed and murdered to get more. This was the course of almost all the succeeding Princes, of Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, &c. And this the continual cause of lawless oppression and killing. In taxing the People and arraigning particular men, it was not justice or guilt that were considered, but how much money could be acquired. So that wealthy men were always guilty, extravagance and murder succeeded one another naturally, a man who had a great fortune rarely escaped being a great Traitor, and with his Life he always forfeited his Estate. Oftentimes rich men were put to death without any form at all, but only by a short

a ſhort direction from the Emperor to kill them, and ſeize all that they had. And Nero, whenever he beſtowed any public Office, always told the perſon; 'Thou knoweſt what my wants require: 'let our joint endeavours be, that no man poſſeſs 'any thing.'

Theſe Tyrants firſt brought themſelves into neceſſities by monſtrous waſtefulneſs and diſſipation, then let looſe their bloodhounds to ſpoil and deſtroy men and countries for a ſupply. Nero declared, that he knew no other uſe of Treaſure but to ſcatter it, and thought the calculation of expence (without which neither the Public nor particulars can ſubſiſt) a taſk only worthy of miſers and mean ſouls; but eſteemed ſuch who knew how to laviſh and confound, as ſpirits altogether polite and magnificent. Nor did he admire and applaud his uncle Caligula for any of his execrable exploits, ſo much as for his conſuming, in ſo ſhort a time, ſuch an immenſe Treaſure left in the Exchequer by Tiberius; that is to ſay, above one and twenty millions of our money in leſs than a year. He indeed cloſely followed the great example, inſomuch that he plundered and ſquandered almoſt all that that mighty Empire could yield him. He robbed and exhauſted Nations, Cities, Churches, and all degrees of men, not only of money and land, but of furniture, pictures and ornaments. From wanting, he proceeded to plundering and killing. So had his pattern and predeceſſor Caligula, who had at laſt deſcended to keep public Stews for money, whither all men were invited to encourage the Emperor, and promote his trade. He likewiſe kept a public warehouſe for the ſale of confiſcated goods, which he put upon his cuſtomers at his own price. Domitian too, when by every wild expence he had drained the Treaſury, and involved himſelf in great ſtraights, had recourſe to every expedient,

dient, every trick of rapine and ſpoiling, and to unlimited butchery.

What elſe could be expected, after ſuch incredible waſte, but proportionable barbarity and plunder? Nero had ſquandered away above ſeventeen millions, in mad bounties; Vitellius, in a few months, conſumed more than ſeven millions, chiefly in feats of voluptuouſneſs and gluttony. Caligula in one ſupper ſpent near eighty thouſand pounds, and upon his favourite horſe beſtowed a ſtable furniſhed with ivory and ſolid gold, beſides a great houſhold and train. Nero entertained Tiridates in Rome, at the expence of above ſix thouſand pounds a day; and when he went away, preſented him with the ſum of near eight hundred thouſand pounds. To Menecrates the Harper, and to Spicillus the Fencer, he gave the Palaces and patrimonial Eſtates of noble Romans, even thoſe of the firſt dignity, ſuch as had been diſtinguiſhed with triumphal honours. Nor, after this, was it a wonder to ſee his Lady Poppæa drawn by Mules covered with harneſſes of Gold, or bathing herſelf daily in the warm milk of five hundred ſheaſſes, ſuch as had lately foaled.

The revenue of the world was not equal to the expence and luxury of theſe Imperial Vultures, frantic with power and elevation. No matter for the miſery, the want and beggary of humankind, ſo theſe profligates, the worſt of the race, might but riot with their vile train of Pandars, Sycophants, Harlots, Buffoons and Informers about them; for in ſuch only they delighted. Nations muſt be drained of their whole wealth and beſt blood, to furniſh out a debauch for the chief Cannibal and his crew. To pamper a few ſuch as were the curſe and diſgrace of nature, all the reſt were obliged to languiſh, to ſorrow, and to periſh.

Whenever

Whenever a new fund was wanted, to carry on the courſe of voluptuouſneſs and prodigality, it was only laying a heavy tax upon the miſerable People already undone by Taxes, or murdering and confiſcating a number of men guilty of being rich, ſometimes forty at once.

Sect. II. Only the worſt men ſhare in the bounties of an extravagant Prince, and carefully ſeclude the beſt.—How ruinous his extravagance to himſelf and the State.

IN the bounties of a prodigal Prince the worſt men always ſhare, as by it all the reſt are ſufferers. Such as really deſerve it, are ſeldom the better for it. The vitious, the idle, the impudent and the falſe, will naturally flock about him, and be vigilant to keep far from him whatever bears the dangerous marks of honeſty, truth, or modeſty. Terrible Rivals theſe to the Minions of Power, and never to be ſuffered to approach, at leaſt not to be heard when they do. When the poor unfortunate Vitellius, not more unhappy in his own folly than in the falſhood and corruption of his Confidents, was undoing himſelf by precipitate counſel, ſuch of his officers as would have dealt faithfully with him, and adviſed him profitably, were debarred by the Minions, who had in truth ſo moulded his ſoft and ſimple ſpirit, that he would hear nothing but what was pleaſing and pernicious, and diſreliſhed every honeſt truth, as unſavoury and bitter. An honeſt Centurion who honourably ventured to acquaint him with his condition, with the ſtrength and victory of his enemies, with his own weakneſs and loſs, was reviled by him as a Traitor; uſage which ſo incenſed the brave man, that, as a proof of his ſincerity, he went and ſlew himſelf.

Who

Who were they that reaped all the enormous gifts of the Roman Emperors? Who but Fencers, Fidlers, Jesters, Prostitutes, Voluptuaries, Procurers and Accusers, Creatures at once the most wasteful and rapacious, the pests and dishonour of Society and of the Court, but with the Emperors chief Favourites and privy Counsellors. The Government of Vitellius was chiefly conducted by the vilest Mimics and Chariot-drivers; but especially by Asiaticus, his Freed-slave: This last was his Pathic, or Male-Mistress, reckoned one of the richest men in the Empire, and the greatest rogue.

'The followers to a King excessive in gifts, are 'excessive in demands, and cut them not out by 'reason, but by example,' says Sir Robert Cotton: 'Favours past are not accounted. We love 'no favours but what are future.' Some of these observations he has taken from Montagne. He adds, that 'the more a Prince weakeneth himself 'in giving, the poorer he is in friends. For such 'prodigality in a Sovereign ever ends in the rapine 'of his Subjects.' He instances in Henry the Third. This King, so prodigal and bountiful, was forced to sell his Lands, sell his Jewels, pawn his Countries abroad, nay, his Imperial Crown, and even to rob the Shrine of Edward the Confessor. At last he had not bread for his family, was driven to quit house-keeping, and went about with his Queen and Children, from Abbey to Abbey, humbly seeking victuals and lodging.

A lamentable situation for a King or a Man; yet he deserved no other, and indeed run into it by his great obstinacy, perjury and tyranny. He had sealed, he had signed, and solemnly sworn to observe the great Charter, with many terrible execrations upon himself, or any other that broke it. Yet he afterwards broke it openly, bid open defiance to all Oaths, all Charters and Laws, had recourse

to avowed oppreſſion, called in foreign Counſellors and foreign Guards, became an Enemy to his People and a public Spoiler. But from all his ſpoiling and oppreſſing, he gained nothing in the end but the juſt recompence of ſuch enormous meaſures, ſhame and diſtruſt, ſcorn and beggary. Yet again his Oath was taken, again he ſwore to obſerve the great Charter, and was once more re-inſtated and ſupplied. But, faithleſs ſtill, and deſpiſing the ties of conſcience for the miſchievous poſſeſſion of unjuſt power, he once more ventured his own Damnation and a War upon his People. It muſt be owned, he grew wiſer near his latter end, and after he had governed fifty years, began to learn from many efforts, many trials and revolutions, after much diſtreſs and diſgrace, that his greateſt power, his greateſt ſafety, conſiſted in ruling righteouſly, in obeying the Laws, and uſing his People well.

'His immoderate liberality, ſays Sir Robert, he 'had found but a weak means to win love; but it 'loſt more in gathering, than it gained in the giv-'ing. This Bounty beſtowed without reſpect, 'was taken without grace, diſcredited the Re-'ceiver, detracted from the judgment of the Giver, 'and blunted the appetites of ſuch as carried their 'hopes out of virtue and ſervice.'---He that will 'lay the foundations of greatneſs upon popular 'love, muſt give the People eaſe and juſtice. For 'they meaſure the bond of their obedience always 'by the good that they receive.'

Sect.

Sect. III. The waſte of public Money, its tendency to produce popular Commotions and civil War.—How much men love themſelves better than the Public. ——Such waſte ſeldom anſwers any end.

WHENCE began the civil War in Paris, during the minority of Lewis the fourteenth, but from the extreme exactions and oppreſſions practiſed to ſupply the treaſury, exhauſted by prodigality, and by bounties and penſions to particulars? For the Queen and the Cardinal, to recommend their adminiſtration, and ſtrengthen themſelves with friends, refuſed nothing, gave the public money with both hands, and by gratifying Creatures made the People mad. For the poor People muſt ever pay all, even for their own undoing. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that, whilſt the People, only were oppreſſed, the ſovereign Courts made no oppoſition: But as ſoon as they themſelves began to be cramped and ſqueezed, they preſently grew public-ſpirited, and combined to make a great ſtand. Thence the famous Arrêt of Union of all the Parliaments. Yet the Parliament of Paris, though acting from ſuch narrow and ſelfiſh motives, was thought the refuge of the diſtreſſed, and adored by the People, who, unleſs miſled by ſome falſe friend or by ſome ſuperior paſſion, are always and naturally grateful.

This behaviour of the Parliament of Paris reminds me of a man who had a place in the Exchequer during our own civil War. The man was a good Cavalier, a great lover of Church and Monarchy. He had an affection for the cauſe and perſon of the King, and was concerned for his misfortunes. But whatever befell his Majeſty and

the Royal Intereſt, or that of the Church, which were both daily ſinking, the good man, though very ſorry, ſtill kept his temper and his place, ſtill preached patience and acquieſcence to his friends. He ſaw all the calamities of his Royal Maſter, ſaw him taken, impriſoned, hardly uſed, tried, nay, his head cut off, ſaw Monarchy itſelf and Epiſcopacy utterly aboliſhed: He diſliked all this indeed, but bore it all. He was ſtill for ſubmitting to the Powers that were, though he approved them not. At laſt the Parliament did a thing which effectually ſet fire to his zeal, by going about to regulate and retrench the Fees of the Exchequer. He then declared, 'That if they were for ſtriking at Fundamentals, it was high time for all honeſt men to look about them.'

No bribe, no liberality can ſecure men void of natural honour and virtue. Many of thoſe who had been moſt highly favoured by Princes, and moſt beholden to their liberality, were the firſt to deſert them, and to turn againſt them. Many have thought the advantages given them to be no more than what were already due to their merit, and therefore no ties upon them to future ſervice. Beſides, many will be bribed and engaged to go certain lengths, but not all. And ſuch largeſſes, ſuch officious application to men by the means of money, will be apt to paſs for an argument of the weakneſs of the Adminiſtration, and the fears of thoſe in Power; and then the Government will be deſpiſed, and the Leeches ſtill craving for more. Or it will be judged that the Court hath evil and dangerous deſigns; and then too the price will be raiſed by ſome; others will quite fall off. Many of all theſe ſorts quite deſerted the Queen and the Cardinal; and of ſuch as remained, few were cordial and determined, whatever they appeared.

Sect.

Sect. IV. The wisdom of Parsimony in a Prince.——The certain distress and disgrace of such as are prodigal.

PRINCES should consider themselves as only Stewards of the public Purse, and what a breach of trust it is, what a breach of honour, nay, how cruel and criminal, to apply the People's money otherwise than for the People's benefit, much more to waste it wantonly, or bestow it upon Idlers, Flatterers and Debauchees. I am pleased with the frugality and public spirit of Omar, the second Caliph after Mahomet. He had a jewel of great price sent him, as a present from the Greek Emperor Heraclius, and sold it. His friends advised him to keep it for himself. But Omar said, he could not answer that to the Public. In proportion to this his public frugality, was the steadiness and credit of his Government; and in dealing with particulars, he was equally just and judicious.

Very different were the measures of Othman, the next Caliph, different his reputation and fate. He was partial and profuse to his Creatures, employed them however unqualified, removed the best officers in the State to make room for them, and upon them wasted the public Treasure, which his predecessors owned to belong to the Public. But Othman said that it was God's, and that he who was successor to the Apostle of God, had a right to dispose of it as he pleased. It is probable that his Minions and Flatterers, they who gained by his mismanagement and prodigality, had been filling his weak head with wild dreams of his *Prerogative and divine Right*, for which doubtless these pernicious hypocrites appeared very zealous. It was what others have done since; that is, they

have often ſo infatuated a Prince with a divine right of doing whatever he pleaſed, (that is, a power from the good God to be miſchievous to men) that he has periſhed in making the experiment. In which the Almighty did but vindicate his goodneſs from ſuch a blaſphemous imputation, and give theſe ſeducers the lye.

A profuſe Adminiſtration is always looſe, diſreſpected and tottering: That of Othman was eminently ſo, and ended tragically. Public diſcontents and reſentments, popular remonſtrances and inſurrections, were the natural effects of his miſrule. As he had ſacrificed all things to his Creatures, and regarded his Family more than the Public; it was no wonder that the People, who were not regarded by him, grew weary of him; no wonder that they were enraged at ſuch a ſcandalous diſſipation of the public money to feed worthleſs Favourites. And when the People whom he had provoked, had taken up arms againſt him, could his Favourites, whom he had ſo dearly purchaſed, protect him? No: The poor man, having loſt all eſteem and the hearts of his ſubjects, was left helpleſs and forlorn, and butchered in his houſe with the Alcoran in his lap. For Othman was very devout, and perhaps ſaying his prayers, when his Secretary was uſing his name and ſeal to the deſtruction of his beſt ſubjects, and ſervants; a practice uſual with the Secretary.

Henry the third of France was a moſt laviſh Prince, and according to the meaſure of his laviſhneſs were his exactions and rapine. He was ſo buried in riot and ſenſuality, and his ſubjects ſo drained and pillaged, as to have it ſaid of him, that only by his daily and heavy oppreſſions, they knew him to be alive. Could a more infamous thing be ſaid of a King, one whoſe duty it is to be daily employed in contriving how to eaſe and benefit

nefit his People? He made a very different uſe of Sovereignty, and robbed them without mercy to ſatiate his Minions and his Vice: As if Royalty were only pomp and luxury, and Princes only for themſelves.

He reaped the juſt fruits of ſuch extreme wickedneſs and folly; and ſuffered ſorely for having made his People ſuffer. By his prodigality and the barbarous methods which he took to ſupply it, he drove them to deſpair; and as the firſt part of his reign had been wanton and oppreſſive, the latter part of it was miſerable and diſtreſſed. He never could recover the eſteem and affections of his ſubjects; ſo that ambitious men, taking advantage of the ſcorn and hate borne him by almoſt all men, hunted him to his grave; and he who had been a man of blood, died in blood. Yet this unhappy Prince had many good qualities, and ſome great ones. But he was eaſy and profuſe, and thence the property of Sycophants, Minions and Monks, and to his People a very great Tyrant.

His father too had a fine diſpoſition and fine endowments, but his reign was grievous and intolerable; becauſe he was profuſe, and therefore rapacious. He loaded his Kingdom with heavy impoſitions, ſuch as were unknown before, yet all too little to gorge a few Favourites. So that beſides the general grinding of the poor people, the rich muſt be brought under forfeitures, and their eſtates given to the Leeches about the King. To accompliſh this, Laws were ſtretched or trod under foot, evidence forged, witneſſes ſuborned, and every execrable Court-art tried to deſtroy the innocent, on purpoſe to enrich wretches bloated with guilt and crimes. Hereſy was one fruitful pretence for worrying and robbing the wealthy, that the Minions might have their ſpoils. To be innocent was of no availment; nor had any man, marked

out for a victim, other remedy than that of redeeming his life and estate by a large price given to the Minions for their interposition with the King, who, for the sake of such blood-thirsty serpents, was become the enemy and spoiler of his People.

The Dutchess of Valentinois, a wicked woman who governed this King and misled him, glutted herself with confiscations; especially those of the Hugonots. He himself the while was necessitous, his Government weak, and full of miscarriages and dishonour. He had spent a large Treasure left him by his father, devoured the substance of his People, seized many Estates, was forty millions in debt, yet the Kingdom not defended, nor his Dominions preserved intire, but on all hands lost and dismembered [a].

Such a curse upon a King are venal and voracious Favourites: Such a curse upon the People, is a King governed by them. They never fail to bring misery and desolation upon his People, and upon him necessity and dishonour: Perhaps he escapes not so. A violent death, which shortened the days of that Prince, leaves us only room to conjecture what events his measures might have produced, had he continued them, and his reign been longer.

[a] Aliis quidem quum omnia raperent, & rapta retinerent, utsi nihil rapuissent, nihil detinuissent, defuerint omnia. *Plin. Pan.*

Sect.

Sect. V. Public Frugality and public Profusion compared in their effects.---Princes brought by extravagance into distress have no resource in the hearts and purses of the People.

Parsimonia magnum est vectigal. It is not great Revenue, but great Frugality, that creates plenty, nor a small income, but want of thrift, that brings poverty. Francis the first with a few Taxes was rich, though always in war: Such was the force of good management, that this alone sufficed for so many demands, so many expences. His Successors with numerous Taxes were poor even in peace. Francis was so apprized of the sufficiency of the public Revenue even then, that he advised his son Henry the second to ease the People, and abolish some of the Imposts, especially such as were laid on to support the War. We see how well he profited by such good counsel.

When Princes, who by extravagance and mismanagement are distressed in their Finances, come to be pressed by any public exigency, by disorders at home or war abroad (and to such exigencies such Princes will be ever most obnoxious) they then find, perhaps too late, the folly and wickedness of their ill œconomy. The People whom they have provoked and abused will not help them, or, being already impoverished, cannot. Will they then have recourse to their Minions for help to defend their Crown and Dignity, and to repulse an Invader? Nero in the midst of his sports and profusion never had thought of a day of distress, or that he should ever be obliged to ask the Romans for money, and be refused: But he lived to see that day, to find wants, and none to supply them.

When the Provinces and Armies were revolting, and he judged an expedition in perſon neceſſary to reclaim them, he wanted a fund to ſet it on foot, and commanded all orders of men to bring in ſuch a proportion of money. But almoſt all men refuſed to contribute any thing, and, with common conſent, deſired, that he would rather recall all the monſtrous ſums which he had beſtowed upon his creatures and implements, the Informers and Accuſers. It was a juſt and a bitter return made to the deadly Tyrant.

A frugal adminiſtration of the public Treaſure is a ſign of a well-governed State, which can never be well governed where the public Treaſure is waſted and miſapplied. To the honour of Queen Elizabeth's reign it was ſaid, (and to her honour too much never can be ſaid) that in her Court Majeſty and Thrift ſtrove for pre-eminence: No Prodigality, no Meanneſs: No Hardſhips upon the People; no Reſentment upon the Queen. She never had oppreſſed nor drained her People: No wonder ſhe had their hearts, which Mr. Oſborne calls, very truly, the Paradiſe of a Prince.

Her Succeſſor, who was always laviſh, was always in wants, and ever hunting after new reſources for money; nor did he refuſe any that were offered, however heavy, however ſcandalous. Hence ſo many Combinations and Monopolies, to the ruin of Trade, and the affliction of the Subject, ſo many vexatious Proſecutions, ſo many exceſſive and arbitrary Fines. The Bloodſuckers about him were continually preying upon him, and forcing him to prey upon the Public. Profuſeneſs created want, and want, which tempts private men to be knaves, makes public men oppreſſors. All his regular Revenue, all the ſupplies which he had from Parliaments, with all the advantages which aroſe from many mean devices, many oppreſſive tricks

to

to get money, were hardly sufficient to raise and support Favourites, Upstarts, Panders and Voluptuaries.

Could the Public like such an Administration, or honour him? He was accounted at best but a King in Law, not established upon the affections of his People. It was reckoned that his Minions cost England more than Queen Elizabeth had spent in all her Wars. He was fond of all new ways of raising money and squeezing his People, fond of all Forfeitures and Confiscations; affronted his Parliament, so that they cared not to oblige him; deceived them, so that they would no longer trust him; denied their reasonable demands, or granted and then eluded them; descended to all low shifts, and was at last thought unworthy of all confidence, submitted to have the money granted by Parliament deposited in the hands of Commissioners appointed by Parliament, yet afterwards forced it from these Commissioners against all faith and honour solemnly plighted.

A Prince must be extremely despised of whom it could be said, as it was of him, 'That he had 'no designs to hurt any people but his own; and 'was severe against Deer-stealers, but indulgent to 'Man-slayers,' since no murder was punished when the murderer had money. In return for all his Prodigality, Falshood and Oppression, he was scorned, hated, and lived in constant uneasiness and distress. In his reign began those discontents which afterwards involved the Nation in the long Civil War.

Sect. VI. The greateſt Revenues inſufficient under ill management.——How grievous this to the People, how baneful to the State. The true Liberality of a Prince, what. The vile ſpirit of flattering Caſuiſts.

NO Revenue whatever is large enough to bear conſtant embezzlement. The wealth of the new World, the mines of Mexico and Peru, poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, could not keep their great Monarchy from ſcandalous poverty during a long courſe of years in the late reigns; becauſe the Finances were miſerably managed, laviſhed in miſapplications and enormous Penſions, and diverted from the ſervice of the State. By this means, in a great meaſure, that proud Monarchy, which had aimed at being univerſal, was become ſo impotent and helpleſs, that, far from conquering other countries, ſhe could not defend her own, ſaw ſome of her moſt conſiderable territories torn from her, and had it not been for ſome of her neighbours, even ſuch as ſhe had formerly aimed at ſwallowing up, but now, for their own preſervation, obliged to protect that their ancient enemy, ſhe herſelf had followed the fortune of her Frontiers, and been the ſport and purchaſe of a Conqueror. A few Provinces once her own, not very large, but very frugal, as they had at firſt beaten her in her beſt days, aſſiſted her in her worſt, and, in the greateſt of their fleets and armies employed in her defence, quite ſurpaſſed her, as well as in promptneſs and capacity to fit them out. Can there be a greater inſtance of the different effects of management and miſmanagement?

Under

Under the Miniſtry of Cardinal Mazarin, during the minority of Lewis the fourteenth, when money was wanted from the Finances for the ſervice of the State, the Superintendants were wont to anſwer, 'That there was none in the Treaſury, but 'the Cardinal would lend the King ſome.' With honeſt management the King could not have been ſo deſtitute, nor the Cardinal ſo abounding. When the Emperor Claudius was once complaining of the poverty and emptineſs of his Exchequer, it was pertinently obſerved, 'That he might be abun-'dantly rich, if his two governing Freedmen would 'admit him for a ſharer with them.' Narciſſus and Pallas were the two meant, they who ſtudied nothing but to ravage and ſpoil with all their might: No matter what the Public paid; no matter what their Maſter wanted.

Lewis the fourteenth, who was extremely magnificent, that is, throwed away vaſt ſums in pomp and vanity, when he heard of the great Confederacy forming againſt him, reſolved to abridge his prodigious expence in building, gardens, jewels, &c. For that very year he had, in building only, ſpent fifteen millions. Nor could he hold his reſolution to retrench, notwithſtanding the public neceſſity ſo preſſing, notwithſtanding the private poverty ſo melancholly and affecting. He went on with Prodigality and Taxing. What the poor People had, he would not want; for his pity was by no means ſo extenſive as his power.

To ſpare, to foſter, and to enrich the People, is the true and chief Liberality of a Prince. Deteſtable is that Bounty which impoveriſhes all men. It was truly ſaid of Otho, that greatly deceived were they with whom his profuſion and extravagances paſſed, as he would have had them, under the name and guiſe of Generoſity. The man might know how to waſte and confound; but to the diſ-

creet and beneficent rules of liberality he must have been an utter stranger. I admire a saying of Henry the great, (who, in truth, was a glorious Prince) that he hoped to see the time when the poorest man in France would be able to have a pullet in his pot; or words to that purpose. This shewed the true and paternal spirit of a King, such a spirit as every King ought to have, else I know no business he has with the Office. What has any King to do but to make the People happy? What have People to do with a King who makes them miserable? Yet, to the dishonour of some of our English Princes, they often claimed payment of the People, and had it, even for reasonable Laws and Concessions, and never parted with any lawless exactions without an Equivalent. They were paid for granting what it was unjust and infamous to deny.

I was out of countenance for a late Prince, one who affected the title of *Great* (in my opinion very preposterously) upon meeting somewhere with the following Story. He told a Mistress of his, what great peace of mind he had just received from his Confessor, to whom he had imparted his anxiety about his grinding and exhausting his People in so grievous a manner, and how readily the good man had removed all his scruples, by assuring him, that whatever they had was his own, and whatever was his own he might conscientiously take. She is said to have replied, very freely, but very justly; 'And 'were you such a fool as to believe him?' Doubtless there was no flattery, no self-ends, nor view to favour and preferment in the State-Casuistry of this holy hard-hearted knave, who by the law of God could authorize Oppression, and sanctify the enormities of a Tyrant. Surely worse than no Religion is that Religion which extinguishes humanity and warrants barbarity; as wicked as Tyrants are, they who countenance Tyranny, and of all Sycophants

Sycophants such who cajole in the name of the Lord, are the most pestilent and odious.

When King James the first asked Bishop Neal, whether he might not take his People's money without the ceremony and consent of Parliaments; the Bishop answered roundly, that he might. 'God forbid, Sir, but you should: You are the 'breath of our nostrils.' By such cant, and the impious burlesque of Scripture, he would have warranted the overthrow of the Establishment, and let loose the King to rob his Subjects, contrary to the Duty of a King, contrary to his Coronation-oath, and against Law and the Constitution. Had the Law provided no punishment for such a poisonous parricide, such a declared enemy to Law and Liberty, and all men? To meditate the death of the King is justly made High Treason. The Bishop was for killing the Constitution. To such extreme wickedness and falshood it is probable this unhallowed pedant was led only out of regard to King James's partiality to Episcopacy, and chiefly to his being the source of ecclesiastical preferments. I know not in what other sense he could be the breath of the Bishop's nostrils: Sure I am it would have been a very lying compliment out of the mouth of the People, had they been fleeced and spoiled against Law, as the good King desired, and the pious Bishop advised. This miserable consideration was to his narrow spirit superior to the felicity of human Society, the Laws of his Country, and all things.

The State of Athens was so sensible of the danger and mischief of embezzling or misapplying the public money, that to prevent it they made the following awful Law: 'That whereas a thousand 'Talents were yearly assigned for the defence of 'Athens against foreign invasions; if any person 'pre-

'presumed to lay out, or but proposed to lay out 'that money, or any part of it, on any other de- 'sign, he should suffer death.' And, though by the Law of Athens no free Athenian could be put in bonds, yet such as had wasted or misapplied the public Treasure, were excepted and denied the benefit of it. Many other wise and severe precautions they took to secure the Revenue of their State, and by it the State itself. Nor can any State subsist in honour and security where havock is made in the Exchequer. A Nation as well as a Family may be undone by Profuseness.

Sect. VII. Public Frugality advantageous to all; disliked only by a few. —— Public Bounties ill bestowed, how dishonourable.

BY all those from whom a Prince takes nothing away, that is to say, by almost all men, he shall be accounted noble and beneficent, and reckoned close and penurious only by a few to whom he gives nothing, says Machiavel; and it is truly said. Let him therefore judge, whether it be not more just, prudent and profitable to oblige and caress his People, though he disgust some particulars, than to cherish and glut a few particulars at the expence of the People. People sometimes love to see a liberal Prince, but care not to feel him, when he is liberal out of their pockets. It must be a melancholy consideration to a Prince (if he consider at all) that by giving a large Pension perhaps to a worthless or wasteful man, he is laying a heavy load upon the backs of hundreds of his best subjects, and oppressing a multitude to be generous or rather prodigal to one. It was a fine and true compliment

compliment to Trajan, that he warily reſtrained all laviſhneſs in the Exchequer, becauſe he never meant to ſupply it out of the fortunes of the innocent.

It is indeed infamous in any man to accept of bounties from the Public, if he can live without them. They who do ſo, are at beſt but public Almſmen; and every man of fortune, who with it has virtue or ſhame, will ſcorn the character. What is here ſaid, does not affect ſuch as for ſerving the Public receive thence an equivalent; ſince rewards that are due are never ſcandalous. But, alas! the ſervice is too often over-rated, and when that ceaſes, the recompence is often continued to ſuch as want it not, as well as given to many who not only do not want it, but never could deſerve it. I have known great Largeſſes and mighty Annuities granted to many for no apparent reaſon, but that they were ſhameleſs enough to aſk, and the Prince weak enough to give. If they had any real claim, it was too infamous to be owned: and it is a terrible reproach upon a Prince, when, for a ſmall or a wicked ſervice done to him perſonally, equal regard is had, and as much liberality ſhewn, as for any ſignal ſervice done to the State, perhaps more, and when the offices of the State, or its Treaſure are proſtituted to gratify private Jobbs and Intimacies.

When this giving humour prevails, there is no end of Suiters and Claimers. Every man, every woman will have ſomething to alledge, ſome ſuffering or ſome ſervice. Upon the acceſſion, particularly, of a new Prince ſuch claims always abound. 'In every ſhift of Princes, ſays Sir Robert Cot-
'ton, there are few ſo mean or modeſt that pleaſe
'not themſelves with ſome probable object of pre-
'ferment. Men expect payment for doing their
'duty and aſſiſting the Public, that is, aſſiſting
'themſelves,

'themselves, and what is no more than duty they 'call merit, and merit must be rewarded; and 'when men are left to measure their own, we 'may guess it will lose nothing of its extent and 'value. There are indeed few who think them-'selves as high in employment as they are in ca-'pacity.' When there are not Places enow to gratify pretenders, an equivalent is expected; and when once Pensions multiply, and are given to many worthless people, there can be no satisfactory reason given for refusing others as worthless. Thus the public Revenue comes to be thrown into a sort of average and spoil. Nor when the corruption has gone far, is it an easy matter to cure it; and he who first attempts it, Prince or Minister, will be sure to find a hard task, a torrent of opposition and outrageous clamours: For all the Harpies, all who had not clean hands, will be found to have foul mouths; and when public frugality, when general ease and relief is intended and pursued, injustice and avarice will be imputed. But the reformation, as it is always just, will certainly prove popular at last, when the generality feel benefit from the just disappointment of a few [a].

[a] Augeo Principis munus, quum ostendo liberalitati inesse rationem. Ambitio enim, et jactantia, et effusio, et quidvis potius quam liberalitas existimanda est, cui ratio non constat. *Plin. Paneg.*

DIS-

DISCOURSE IV.

Of Princes.

Sect. I. The Duty of a Prince, what. His motives to be good, and content with limited Power: That of the Roman Emperors bounded.

IF we now enquire into the duty of a Prince, what elſe can it be but to conform to the Laws, and ſee that all others conform; to be vigilant for the public welfare, to conſult the good of the whole and of particulars, to prevent oppreſſion and to puniſh it, to promote virtue and to reward it, to conſider himſelf as made for the People's protection, not the People for his pleaſure, and that where his Subjects reap no advantage, he can reap no glory; to enforce the obſervance of Law by his example as well as by his judgments, and by his faithful care of his People, merit their affection and fidelity [b].

It is thus he muſt reſemble the Deity, nor can he be otherwiſe the Repreſentative of God than by doing God-like actions. It is not enough that he do things innocent and harmleſs: it is not enough that he forbear things wicked and mean. What he does muſt be virtuous, noble, public ſpirited. Every ſordid action, every low artifice he muſt deteſt and avoid. He who repreſents the Almighty, he who guards the Laws and the Lives of men,

[b] Omnia inviſere, omnia audire, et undecunque invocatum, ſtatim velut numen adeſſe et aſſiſtere.

muſt

must be just in observing Law, ambitious to resemble his Maker and Sovereign. How can he, how dare he neglect or injure those for whose sake alone he is what he is? 'He who is above all, 'ought to be better than all,' was the wise and worthy saying of Cyrus [a].

Such a Prince, whose only end and pursuit is the People's good, as it is in truth his only business, will desire no power to hurt them, none such as others under him, or after him, may turn to their prejudice, though he himself would not. Though a Prince perfectly wise and just could never abuse any power, he would not covet power without bounds, because whatever the best Princes have had, the worst will always expect. So that good Princes will be content with a little, a smaller share, that the bad may not have too much. They will look beyond their own time, and contrive that the People may be happy when they themselves are gone. This consideration terribly heightens the crime of Usurpation, and overturning the Laws of a Country. Though he who does it may have good qualities, and possibly desire public good; yet such as are to come after him may be fools, madmen, bloody savages. Cæsar, therefore, and his fellows are never to be forgiven, never to be excused.

Let a Prince be invested with a power ever so boundless, it is still intended, or ought to be, for the good of men, and he has none to be cruel or wicked. A power to destroy, is not given, but

[a] Un Roy (entant que Roi) n'ai rien proprement sien: il se doit soy même à autruy. La jurisdiction ne se donne point en faveur du jurisdiciant: C'est en faveur du juridicie; *says* Montagne. *He adds,* That a superior is created not for his own advantage, but for that of his inferiors: As a Physician is so for the sick, not for himself.

taken,

taken, and what is usurped, has no right whatever. No regular, no just power can be derived from the irregular will of man, whatever fine name he takes to himself. 'Hard it is for one who has no bounds 'to his power, to set bounds to his passions;' said the wise and good Marcus Aurelius. Nor did the Roman Emperors pretend to be above the Law, but only above the formality of Law. If they acted otherwise, as they generally did, they gave the lie to truth, and their own professions. Alexander Severus declared, that nothing was so much a part of sovereign power, nothing so much its character, as to live according to the Laws. Trajan professed, that the Prince was so far from being above the Laws, that the Laws were above the Prince. As he took an Oath to obey the Laws, he faithfully observed that Oath; and thence Pliny says, 'That all the Emperors before him had made 'the same professions, but their professions were 'not believed:' What they had promised to be, he was. The Romans in the times of the Emperors, made a wide difference between a Prince and a Master: the former they considered as a lawful Magistrate, the latter as an Intruder and Usurper. And it was observed of Trajan, that he possessed the place of a lawful Prince, to prevent the exercise of lawless rule [b]. The Emperor Adrian declared to a public assembly of the Romans, that he would govern like one who had the direction of the People's affairs, not his own: and Severus owned himself to be no more than the public Steward. Many Emperors used their power mischievously; but such abuse of power was no part of their Commission.

[b] Sedem obtinet Principis, ne sit Domino locus.

Sect.

Sect. II. The wisdom of governing by Law. —No just power without Law.—Just Government requires sense.---Any wretch capable of tyrannizing.---No good man fond of boundless power.

THEY who are set over men, too often forget that they themselves are but men. Indeed such of them who pretended to be above Law and above Humankind, were much worse than beasts, they who claimed Divinity, a disgrace to Humanity. Hence Pliny says to Trajan, who, without arrogating celestial honours, had a spirit truly divine, 'That, from the fate of the Princes 'his predecessors, it was manifest, that none but 'such as men love, are beloved by the Gods.'

What is it that gives a Prince a right to power? Not his bare will, for then every man who has force, has a right to power, a right to all that downright brutal force can bring him. As the public good is the general rule of Laws, these Laws are the rule and boundaries of the Prince's power. To these all men are and ought to be subject, he especially who is intrusted with their execution and the care of all men. If the Laws are for the security of the State, why should not the Prince observe them, he to whom the guardianship of the State is committed? The Roman Emperors, even in their acts of Tyranny pretended to observe Law, and under the name of some Law most of their cruelties were perpetrated. Nor durst they avowedly violate the Laws. Thus Claudius was afraid to marry Agrippina, for that there was no Law authorizing an Uncle to marry his Niece. Nor durst he accomplish the marriage till a Decree was purposely made. Thus even the outrageous Nero proceeded

ceeded in cutting off some of the greatest men: He got them butchered under the form and mockery of Law.

It is the more glory for a Prince to govern regularly, and by the just measure of Equity and Laws; for that, in order to govern well, parts, and prowess, and vigilance are required; but any novice, any savage can exert brutal passion, follow his absurd humour, yield to his headstrong will. It is the easiest thing in the world to exercise disorder and misrule, to gratify private appetite, to create public mischief and disorder. This the frantic Caligula could do, this the infamous Heliogabalus, and this our Richard the second or King John. A madman or a fool may be an able Tyrant: and to be so, fools and madmen are the most aspiring. La Bruyere says, 'That for the exercise of Tyranny there is no need of arts or sciences. Those politics which consist only in shedding of blood, are very narrow and void of refinement: They inspire us to kill such who, while they are alive, prove an obstacle to our ambition. This is what a man naturally cruel does without difficulty. It is the most horrible, it is the most gross method of supporting ourselves, or of acquiring grandeur.' Indeed, a wrong head, a wicked heart, and human shape, seem the chief qualifications for a Tyrant.

As unlimited oppression generally follows unlimited power, and as all power that can be abused will be abused, none but a madman, a wicked man, or a changeling will desire unaccountable dominion, whence he can reap no other fruit than guilt and odium, and his People none but misery and pillage. What can be the mark of a viler spirit, what a more detestable character of a man, what more repugnant to the business and duty of a public Father,

Father, than to consider the People as his property, not his care; as if millions were created for the sake of aggrandizing one of themselves, often the worst, as a Tyrant is certainly the worst creature in his dominions, let the rest be ever so bad, and bad they must be, as well as wretched. For the breath of Tyranny contaminates all things, destroys the best things, nor can virtue any more than happiness stand before it, or within its reach. It is a maxim with evil Princes to make their subjects evil; and, in order to bear slavery, they must have the abject souls and vices of slaves, must be sordid, ignorant, debauched, void of care for the Public, void of humanity and honour.

Sect. III. How amiable the character of a good Prince, who rules by Justice and Law, who loves and relieves his People.

HENRY the fourth of France used to say, 'That in order to reign well, it is not expedient to do whatever we can:' A saying worthy of the wise head and great heart of that brave Prince. As he said, he practised. He always heard with great patience the remonstrances of his Subjects and Parliaments, nor was ashamed to change his opinion, or to depart from points of prerogative; hated to hear Parasites magnify his power, and shew great tenderness for the privileges of Royalty, or to be praised by men unworthy of praise; would not suffer the Provinces to be oppressed to enrich particulars; confessed that he differed not from his Subjects, since he had but two eyes and two feet no more than they. He told an assembly of the principal men of Normandy at Rouen, that he had called them, not blindly to approve what was

was his will and pleasure, but to receive their counsel, to trust it, and to follow it. This was the language of a man of sense and honour, and he did just the contrary to what a fool or a small spirit would have done. A certain Prince, cotemporary with him, would have probably told such an assembly, 'That State-affairs were above their 'reach,' (and quoted some Latin to prove it) 'that they should beware of entrenching upon his 'Prerogative; that he wanted not their advice, 'for he was a wise King.'

The word Prerogative was what that great French Monarch was seldom heard to mention. He considered it as given him only for one end, nor could it be given to any Prince for any other, for the sake and support of his People, as were his Revenues to enable him to defend the People, and not to be wasted upon pomp and voluptuousness, as were the Revenues of some other Crowns at that time. An oppressive Prerogative is a monster and contradiction: so are oppressive Revenues, nor will a good Prince think ought due to him which his Subjects are unable to bear or to pay. Henry the fourth abhorred the recent excesses and encroachments of the Royal Authority, and suppressed many duties which the late Tyranny had exacted. In one Edict he forgave the People all the arrears due to the Crown, and wished that his own Revenue had been sufficient, for that then he would have taken nothing out of the purses of his People. The divine Marcus Aurelius remitted all that had been due to the Imperial, or to the public Treasury (for they were distinct) during six and forty years. He declared, 'That the public wealth belonged to the 'Senate and People, that he had nothing of his 'own, that the very Palace which he lived in was 'theirs.'

This was the ſtile, theſe the conceſſions of a King and public Father, two characters which ſhould eternally be the ſame, but too ſeldom are. Nor were all theſe profeſſions of theirs the grimace of politicians. Marcus Aurelius and Henry the fourth had no occaſion for grimace: Great ſouls are always ſincere. They delighted to ſee their People happy, and ſtudied to make them ſo. To accompliſh this, Henry the fourth chearfully leſſened his revenue, leſſened his authority, and reſtrained his prerogative where his prerogative interfered with the intereſt and happineſs of his People. He was above all little ſuſpicions, above all doubling and deceit; habits ſo common to men of little minds and little ſenſe. As he wronged no man, he feared none, and his large mind was never fretted with the jealouſies uſually cleaving to power. He knew no purpoſe of being higher than others, but to do good to all; and when he found himſelf too high to aſſiſt thoſe below him, he feared not to deſcend; ſtill ſecure in the benevolence of his intentions and conduct, as well as in the ſufficiency of his own might. He was aware that overbearing pride and prerogative were not the means to win affection or eſteem, and that the condeſcenſion of a Prince is no contradiction to his dignity, nay, a ſure way to raiſe it: He therefore lived with his People like a father with his children; as was ſaid of a Roman Emperor who reſembled him, I mean Trajan, a Prince in all excellencies reſembling Henry the fourth. What pity that ſuch Princes, ſuch friends to the world and protectors of men, ſhould ever die!

Sect.

Sect. IV. The miserable Spirit and Infamy of Princes who consider themselves above Law, and independent on their People.

HAD Cato the elder known two such Princes as the above-mentioned, he would not have given such a shocking character of Kings, 'That 'they were all ravening beasts:' a character due to those whom he knew, eastern Tyrants, the constant Enslavers, Oppressors and Butchers of men. Power is indeed a brutal, a hideous thing, when not tempered by Reason and Laws, not employed for the benefit of Society; and such as have it and do not thus use it, are worse than animals of prey, more destructive, more detestable.

One of the greatest and bravest of our Princes was Edward the third. He had many demands made upon him by his Parliaments, and granted them all. Hence he reigned and died in renown. Two of our weakest and worst Kings (at least till then) were Edward the second and Richard the second. These were great zealots for Prerogative, that is for a privilege to be mischievous and unaccountable, and rejected all such demands. Hence their miserable reigns, their calamitous ends, their infamous memory. They were that sort of wretches who set up folly and appetite against duty and human society. Good sense and greatness of mind are always found together, and justice is inseparable from either. Edward the third had equal wisdom and magnanimity, and was just in proportion as he was brave. It was his study to cherish his People, nay, to be great with them, and to be counselled by their Representatives. 'He had the 'honour, says Selden, to be the repairer of the 'ruins that his father had made, and was a Prince

'whom you might think by his Story to be ſeldom 'at home, and by his Laws ſeldom abroad.'

Lewis the thirteenth was a great lover of power, in proportion to his great incapacity to exerciſe it. As a ſpecimen of both, when the People of Tholouſe applied to him, by an earneſt and unanimous petition, for mercy to the Duke De Montmorency condemned to die, he anſwered, 'That if he fol-'lowed the inclinations of the People, he ſhould 'not act like a King.' I queſtion whether his ſon would have given a better anſwer, a Prince ſo flattered for the art of reigning, if his government deſerve that name. What ſtrange loſty notions muſt have poſſeſſed the weak head of this Prince, that a King ſhould act for himſelf againſt his People! The thing is often too true. But, pray, how ſhould the People act, on their part, upon ſuch an occaſion? I mean not the People of Tholouſe at that juncture, but a whole nation, when they find by his adminiſtration, that he only conſiders himſelf, and not them, or rather makes them only a property to himſelf. Such as have an unjuſt power, ill got, or overmuch, or ſuch as intend to abuſe their power, are ever jealous and fearful. They are ever fearing thoſe whom they cauſe to fear, and whom they fear they ſeek to oppreſs or deſtroy. This is the nature and progreſs of Tyranny [a]. In Dr. Burnet's late Hiſtory we find a ſhocking declaration of Charles the ſecond concerning the Duke of Lauderdale, that the Duke had indeed done a great many damned things againſt the people of Scotland; 'but I cannot ſee, ſays his Ma-'jeſty, that he has done any thing againſt my in-'tereſt.' A ſpeech upon which I make no reflection, nor can my imagination furniſh one that can poſſibly heighten its horror.

[a] Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet.

Now

Now beſides the infamy, beſides the crying iniquity of Lewis the thirteenth, of making his Kingdom groan under the mercileſs weight of Prerogative exerted in violation of their Birthright, Liberty and Law; all the new power which he uſurped was uſurped to his Miniſter. It was the Cardinal who ſwayed the enormous Scepter, and ſwayed it terribly, even to the dread and ſhame of the Monarch, who by ſetting himſelf above the Laws, above the remonſtrances of his Parliament, did but ſet the Cardinal above him, and from his exceſſive weakneſs, to call it no worſe, his Miniſter derived his exceſſive power. Henceforward he could not, he durſt not either ſee or hear but by licence from his Eminence.

Sect. V. Princes ſeeking or poſſeſſing arbitrary Power, rarely exerciſe any themſelves: Their Miniſters and Creatures generally rule all.

IT is wonderful this ſtrange thirſt, this boundleſs appetite in Princes for unbounded Power, which yet they ſeldom occupy themſelves, but leave to be exerciſed by others, their Minions or Miſtreſſes. What they gain by putting bonds upon all men, is to be themſelves holden in bonds by the meaneſt or the worſt. Lewis the thirteenth, a Prince very inſufficient, but very obſtinate, one who had no ideas or very ſhort ones of his own, aſſumed to be the origin and oracle of all Juſtice and Law; and his paſſions, infuſed or managed by the Cardinal, were to be the rule of life, and to determine the fate of all men. The Cardinal, who uſed the King like a mere machine, was effectually Monarch of France, as all Frenchmen felt, as all

Europe saw. He was indeed an extraordinary man, a mighty genius: but as he trod upon the Laws and Liberties of his Country, the best that can be said of him, is, that he was an able destructive Minister. Whoever rules by fancy will ever be a pernicious ruler, let his abilities be what they will.

The sovereignty, and folly, and cruelty of Claudius were all managed by his manumised slaves, or his Wives; and he had neither discernment or passions but such as they infused. Nor was it peculiar to Claudius to be under such guideance. The rest of the Cæsars were generally subject to the supreme rule of some mean and uncontroulable Favourite. These lofty Emperors who would bear no limits to their authority, exercised in effect none, but, reserving only the name and iniquity of power, devolved the administration and abuse of it upon their vilest domestics, the dregs of human race.

The great Turk, who claims and exercises a power without controul over the lives of all men, who challenges a right to the fortune and property of all, and is Lord of every acre throughout his vast dominions, enjoys from all this enormous, this sounding sovereignty no more than a mighty name and mighty danger. He is seldom seen, seldom does any thing, or knows what is done. With the seal which he delivers to his prime Vizier, he surrenders the absolute disposal of his immense Empire, the absolute direction of his boundless Authority. The prerogatives of State which he exerts in his own person, are such as concern not the State, at least help it not: He diverts himself with the tricks and grimaces of Mutes and Buffoons, with his Ladies or Pathics, with Dogs and Huntsmen.

It

It is thus he discharges the duties of a Sovereign, thus guards the Public, and protects Nations. Are these the marks of authority divine, of a power holden immediately from God, sacred and irresistible, as the Mahometan Doctors teach? Are the characteristics of Divinity to be found in the neglect and abuse of Government, as well as in the discharge of it? If he who does the office be the person divinely appointed, as I think he ought, not the Grand Seignior, but the Grand Vizier is the man. How the Turkish Divines reason upon this point, I know not. I doubt not but they are provided with good casuistry and distinctions to account for their recommending, as they have sometimes done, their Monarch to be dethroned or knocked on the head, though by their principles he was irresistible and sacred. Such force and magic there is in the sage subtleties of this profound Divinity and of these able Divines, and so powerfully do they aid Princes to stand or fall!

A Mahometan preacher was bold enough to tell the Emperor to his face, that instead of defending Buda (then besieged) he went every day a hunting. The rebuke had such an effect, that, as soon as the sermon was ended, his Highness ordered nine hundred of his hunting dogs to be drowned. We see the efficacy of an honest sermon upon a Prince when an honest man is found to preach it, one who aims at truth and reformation, not at flattery and preferment.

Thamas King of Persia was shut up in his Seraglio, drowned in voluptuousness, for ten years together, leaving his Authority to be abused, and his Subjects oppressed and devoured all that while at the lust and discretion of his servants. They therefore were the sovereign Rulers, whilst he had the sovereign Title. In a manner like this are all or most of the great Monarchies in the East con-

ducted. The Monarchs do nothing, and their Miniſters do miſchief. Theſe Repreſentatives of the Deity are themſelves repreſented by a Woman, or a Pathic, always by a Slave.

Such of our Engliſh Kings as had the greateſt appetite to abſolute rule, as the worſt always had, never ſwayed what violent power they had graſped, but reſigned their People, their Dominion and themſelves to Creatures and Favourites: Whether the King were a Henry, an Edward or a Richard, a John or a James, it was ſtill a Pierce Gaveſton, a Hugh Spencer, a Mountford, a Brember, a Carr or a Peters that miſgoverned and oppreſſed. The King only lent his name and warrant, and often not that; but ſtill blindly approved what they had done, though he knew it not, nor why.

Sect. VI. The arbitrary will of Favourites often proves the only Law of a bad and arbitrary Prince.——How apt they are to abuſe his Power, and at laſt to deſert him.

THE caprice, or paſſion, or evil counſel of a reigning Favourite, will always paſs upon a weak Prince for the rules of Equity and Law. As a Prince who is not controuled by Law will in all probability prove bad, and certainly bad where he rejects Law; ſo a Miniſter acting without any check or inquiry from his Maſter, is not very likely to prove modeſt and virtuous. The one will be apt to grow domineering and inſolent, if the other be credulous and indolent. Such a temptation is ſeldom withſtood, or ſuch an opportunity loſt. This was the caſe and misfortune of Galba. For ſuch, ſays Tacitus, was his weakneſs and acquieſcence, that by it the avarice of his friends, already

already insatiable, and ravening according to the measure of his sovereign fortune, was farther heightened and excited; whilst under a Prince thus feeble and credulous, their iniquities were attended with the smaller peril, and with gains the more mighty. Pliny says, [a] it was always a glaring and sure sign, that the Prince was impotent and contemptible, when his Servants were mighty and powerful.

Richard the second left his Government so entirely to his Favourites, that they were said 'to 'have taken the Kingdom to farm.' They passed Patents, they issued Proclamations, levied Money, spoiled the Subject, all without his knowledge or once asking his consent. Nor other reason had they for setting him above Law, but that they might be lawless. Thus they caused it to be proclaimed in the City of London, 'That no person 'should dare to utter a word or expression against 'them, on pain of forfeiting all that he had.' Nay, they made the poor weak King swear to them, 'not only to be governed and counselled 'by them alone, but to maintain and defend them, 'and to live and die with them.' After this it is small wonder that they would not suffer the great persons of the Realm, or the King's best subjects, to give him any advice or information, or even to approach him, except in their presence. Brember (one of the Minions) caused two and twenty men to be hanged in one night, without law or trial. But this was only a small essay of his power and violence; he had marked out seven or eight thousand obnoxious Citizens to be cut off at once, and prepared a common Hatchet for that purpose, an

[a] Præcipuum indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos.

inſtrument that providentially ſerved to ſtrike his own head from his body.

Concerning thoſe low and ſervile ſpirits at Court, who, in times of peace and corruption, ſwagger and govern all things with high inſolence and diſdain, manage little intrigues with notable craft and ſufficiency, tell lies, practiſe falſhood, traffic for places, and carefully keep all men of honour, capacity and merit at a due diſtance; it is worth while to obſerve, what a miſerable figure they make in a time of danger and alarms, confounded, ſtruck with terror, ready to change ſides, ready to abandon their old friends and protectors, to ſubmit with mean ſuppleneſs to ſuch as they had lately deceived, inſulted and oppreſſed, and to become humble ſlaves to profeſſed enemies.

Sect. VII. Princes guilty of the Oppreſſions committed by their Authority. Their Miniſters are generally, like them, bad or good. A limited Authority ſafeſt to Kings and Miniſters. The beſt Miniſters obnoxious to clamours.

A Prince who permits oppreſſion and cruelty, is cruel and oppreſſive, though he know it not; for he ought to know, ought to enquire, and to prevent it, or puniſh it. Why elſe is he a Prince, and what elſe is his duty, but to watch for the public good? Nor did ever any reaſon otherwiſe, except Tyrants, public enemies and ſpoilers, with their Flatterers and Minions, who hoped to gain by miſleading and corrupting them. What they cannot do themſelves they ought to ſee well done by others, to redreſs what is ill done, to take care that it be not repeated, and that public examples

examples be made of public criminals. A Prince becomes bad by his idleneſs as well as by his actions. He is inveſted with a great truſt, the greateſt upon earth, one ſo extenſive that upon the well or ill executing of the ſame depends the felicity or miſery of Nations; ſo that whoever neglects it, is unfit for it, or unworthy of it.

It is allowed that an able and honeſt Miniſtry make amends for the indolence or inſufficiency of a Prince: but how rarely does it happen that he chuſes ſuch? They generally prove like himſelf, vicious or weak, or make his folly a warrant for their injuſtice. His choice is determined not by their talents for Government, about which perhaps he is ignorant, perhaps unconcerned, but by taſte, or whim, or paſſion, for ſome particular quality, or ſome fooliſh excellency that he delights in. Peradventure they joak well, or ſhave well, or procure him Miſtreſſes, or become ſuch themſelves, or are notable Muſicians, notable Devotees, or notable Drinkers. For ſuch accompliſhments, and without any other, Men and Monks, and Women, and Barbers, and Buffoons and Fidlers have been raiſed by Kings to rule over Kingdoms.

They who do what they pleaſe, ſeldom do what they ought, and ſuch as may do evil with impunity, generally do it with licentiouſneſs. Nor other fence or ſecurity is there againſt evil, but penalties and the dread of evil. Men are then leaſt likely to offend when they dare not. The power therefore of the higheſt ought to be bounded, and precautions taken as well againſt the exceſſes of Kings, as thoſe of Subjects. Kings themſelves, ſhould deſire it: it is the ſafeſt rule as well as the moſt honourable, and even moſt profitable; ſince where the People, ſecured by the Laws, live unmoleſted, the Prince will reign in ſecurity, and the more free they are,

the more able they will be to ſerve him, the more chearful to ſupport him, as well as more rich and liberal to ſupply him.

Neither can a Prince under the reſtriction and guidance of Laws, be long ſerved by worthleſs, ſilly, or arbitrary men. They muſt be men of ſenſe and reputation, otherwiſe they will ſoon deſtroy themſelves, or him, or both. In a Nation governed by fixed Laws all men will ſee, indeed feel, whether the Laws and their Properties are violated, whether they are oppreſſed againſt Law, or protected by it. The dignity of the Adminiſtration muſt be ſupported, decency and gravity preſerved, with regularity in the courſe of buſineſs; the Public muſt be tenderly treated, and particulars civilly uſed: Elſe the Crown will fall into contempt, into weakneſs and diſtreſs, the Subject into diſcontents and rage, all things into confuſion. Minions and Underlings may, and probably always will, have ſecret influence and ſway, ſometimes enough to hurt and perplex a Miniſter, who often ſuffers blame for the ill things which they, in ſpight of him, do [a]. But he who conducts the public affairs muſt be a man of parts, a man of buſineſs, and ſufficiency, of name and credit.

With all this he muſt expect to be hardly preſſed, often find it a hard taſk to ſtand. He will often be thought guilty even where he is moſt innocent. He will be ſure to diſoblige ſome, even by obliging others: Several will think themſelves at leaſt as well qualified as he for his place, and, in hopes to be taken in, endeavour to puſh him out. They will be apt to charge him with crimes at a venture, and probably hate him enough to wiſh him criminal, or to believe him ſo. Many will concur in the imputation, ſome through perſonal anger, more

[a] Damnatus culpæ quam alii deliquerant.

through

through natural malignity, moſt of all through folly. The multitude love changes, ſome find advantage in it, and many hope to find. Even his excellencies and renown may happen to create him enemies and perſecution [a]. Perhaps few Miniſters ever ſerved a Prince with more faith and ſufficiency than Monſieur De Rony did his great Maſter Henry the fourth, or with greater regard to the intereſt of the Public. Yet his credit with the King, tho' no more than he deſerved, and two or three fine employments, however due to his merit, ſerved for a conſtant pretence to malecontents, and even for the ground of ſeveral conſpiracies. In matters of great and public moment, it is a difficult thing to pleaſe all.

Sect. VIII. The benefit of ſtanding Laws to Princes and their Miniſters, further illuſtrated. What regard Princes ſhould have to poſthumous Fame, what dread of Infamy.

IT is not in a free Country as in one enſlaved, where whatever the Prince likes all muſt ſeem to approve; where all muſt beſtow their reverence and ſubmiſſion blindfold, where-ever he beſtows power and favour, though blindfold too. In a Nation of Freedom and Laws, all men claim a right to judge and cenſure for themſelves, a right which they often abuſe and miſapply, but ought never to loſe. Better it is, that all men ſay what they pleaſe, than one man do what he will. Yet a Miniſter under all theſe diſadvantages, however obnoxious to clamour and unjuſt cenſure, is ſafer and happier than in the ſervice of a lawleſs Prince,

[a] Cauſa periculi non crimen ullum, ſed gloria viri.

whose rage is usually more sudden than his favour, and who never accuses but he likewise destroys, often without accusing; whereas when the Laws govern, Ministers are frequently accused, but seldom hurt; nay, the worst often escape, whilst under a Tyrant the best never do.

To Princes themselves the Laws are the best guides as well as guards. Most men will be apt to flatter them, few to tell them the truth. Let them have recourse, for information, to the Laws, Counsellors which will not cajole nor deceive them, nor betray and desert them, as Favourites and Armies may. Sycophants will tell them, that 'they may do what they list,' and, it is like, confirm that impious lie by another equally impious, that 'such is the ordinance of God.' The Laws will tell him, that, 'whatever he does must be 'for the good of men; that he has no right to 'hurt them, no power but what is given him, 'limited by institutions framed by the wisdom of 'men, for their own safety and his, and that for 'their security, and not for his own ease or pride, 'he is set over them. If he break his bounds, if 'he violate his trust, he becomes an enemy to 'God and Man, and must hope for favour from 'neither, since in the sight of God, the impartial 'Father of all men, none are high or low but in 'the sanctity or impiety of their lives, and he who 'injures and betrays all men is evidently the worst 'of all.'

Let any Prince judge, which is the more reasonable instructor, the Sycophant or the Laws. (For Sycophants, and the vilest, they all are who tell a Prince that he may overturn the Law) Let him judge which is likely to lead him to most justice and benevolence, to most honour and renown, to most security whilst he lives, to most praise when he is dead: Let him determine with himself, whether

ther he would be a Nero, governed by Parasites and his lusts, detested as a Tyrant, doomed to immortal abhorrence through all ages, or a Titus, who made Justice and Law the measure of his Government, was stiled the delight of human-kind at that time, and has been judged worthy of the same amiable character at all times since. In proportion to the excellence and depravity of a Prince's reign, will be his fame afterwards, illustrious or inglorious.

What can be more delightful to a Prince, than an assurance of being adored when he is dead? What more shocking than to foresee, that he shall be abhorred, or even his memory slighted amongst men? For in the memories of men his most lasting monument must be raised, happy for him if also in their affections [a]. These are the inscriptions, this the character, which cannot be erazed, panegyrics that will not lie, unperishing honours, out of the power of time, and death, and malice [b]. Such as were by Pliny foretold to Trajan, and such as Trajan still enjoys, still shall enjoy.

Sect. IX. Idle Princes seldom come to be able Princes. How much application to business imports them, for their own accomplishment and the good of their Government.

INdolent Princes, such as love not business, or are kept from it, besides their being liable to be abused, scarce ever come to be men of great

[a] Mihi in animis vestris templa; hæ pulcherrimæ effigies et mansuræ.

[b] In quos nihil flammis, nihil senectuti, nihil successoribus liceat.

sufficiency,

ſufficiency, tho' they may have good natural parts. It is by the continual exerciſe of the underſtanding that the underſtanding is enlarged. A man of much induſtry, with moderate parts, will be an over match for one who has the greateſt, but never exerts them. Attention to buſineſs and the affairs of life, fills the mind with ideas and reflections, arms it againſt miſtakes and ſurprizes, and uſes it to judging and deciding. But to a ſpirit untrained and void of experience, every ſmall matter proves a great difficulty, every ſmall difficulty proves diſcouraging. A man practiſed in affairs is ſeldom ſtartled or at a loſs, and for every emergency will be apt to find ſome expedient; for he is uſed to emergencies, and to provide for them. Every ſmall Clerk will be apt to deſpiſe, every little Lawyer be able to outwit a man juſt come out of a College or a Cloiſter, though he may make no mean figure there. Even very ſilly men will acquit themſelves notably in buſineſs, where it lies in a road and method, and make diſpatch where a very bright man not uſed to it would be ſtrangely puzzled. I have ſeen a man of poor natural capacity, but well trained in buſineſs, triumph over a man of extraordinary talents deſtitute of experience. Such as are originally weak may acquire artificial abilities, as others of great genius, applying to nothing, will be good for nothing.

As the buſineſs of reigning is the moſt important upon earth, he who is inveſted with ſupreme authority, in order to make himſelf worthy of it, ſhould be extremely careful to qualify himſelf for it. He ſhould inform himſelf aſſiduouſly, exert himſelf diligently, and convince all men, that he who beſtows every office, is able to diſcharge, and therefore fit to bear, the higheſt. It were indeed prepoſterous, that authority ſhould be in the hands of one who ought to adminiſter it, but cannot, and leaves

leaves it all to be administered by others. This was the character of many of the Cæsars, Idiots in Government, Heroes in Tyranny. So that Pliny had just cause to say, That it seemed highly unworthy, that he should confer all dignities, who could sustain none.

It is a misfortune even in a Country where the Laws govern, to have a weak, or, which is the same thing, an indolent Prince; for the administration of an indolent Prince is generally weak; and where he does too little, those who act for him will be apt to do too much. But under a Government limited by Laws, such weakness or neglect in a Prince can do least harm, nor can his will or his folly be pleaded, as in arbitrary Countries, for the cause or cloak of enormities, since his will and his folly are repugnant to the Laws, and may be opposed by Law. All men know how far his power extends, how far others can extend it for him. In absolute Monarchies, not only his will, his fury, his appetites, are Laws, and Laws irresistible, but so likewise are the appetites, and will, and fury of his officers, who always alledge that, whatever they perpetrate he commands; and who dares doubt or deny it, or go to Court to enquire?

But let a Prince's power be ever so cautiously restrained, let the Laws which limit and direct him be ever so plain, he will still find an abundant call for all his industry, in chusing his Officers, in observing their Conduct, in overlooking his Revenue, in executing the Laws, in hearing Petitions, in attending to Treaties and Embassadors, in taking care of the Dignity and Tranquillity of the Nation, and even in governing his Family. What more extensive office would a Prince have, if he mean to perform it with conscience and care? Few men are equal to it; the ablest man cannot be too diligent in it.

Henry

Henry the fourth of France had a great underſtanding, becauſe he had made great uſe of it. From his childhood he was almoſt continually exerciſed in diſtreſs and affairs, and forced by the former into the latter. As he was a man of great pleaſure, had his Kingdom fallen to him early and eaſily, it is certain he would not have had equal ſufficiency; for ſufficiency is to be acquired like a ſcience. He was forced to be induſtrious, vigilant, inquiſitive, and therefore was always improving. Thus he became excellently qualified for Government. Henry the third might have proved ſo too, had he been obliged from his youth, and for a long courſe of years to have ſtruggled for his Crown. He had ſhewn what he was capable of, whilſt yet very young. In truth ſo great was his reputation in the camp, ſuch ability he had manifeſted as a Commander, and ſuch hopes were conceived of him as a Prince, that he was choſen King of Poland before he was twenty years old. But through idleneſs, and ſenſuality, and flatterers, he became a moſt miſerable Ruler, infamous and ſanguinary.

Princes that do nothing, but leave all things to others, will always be minors, as was our Richard the ſecond. Contemptible is that Prince who holds nothing of Sovereignty but the Pageantry, and the Crown. Poor Richard loſt even that: Nor can any Prince who takes no care to ſupport his own dignity, be ſecure that his dignity will not fall. Men who are able and good will be kept carefully from him, at leaſt from ſerving him. The ſelfiſh, the falſe, the miſchievous will always be moſt numerous about him, perhaps exclude all others, at leaſt will always have the moſt ſway, perhaps the only ſway. At laſt perhaps he will bear no counſel but the worſt [b].

[b] Ita formatis principis auribus, ut acerba quæ utilia.

In

In ſpight of any human ſufficiency or virtue, that a Prince can exert or poſſeſs, there will be many abuſes growing or creeping in, ſuch as he cannot altogether remove or prevent. But where he is idle, where he is neglectful, diſorder will prevail tenfold, corruption walk barefaced, truth and virtue and merit will be brow-beaten or baniſhed, vice and inſolence will flouriſh, the Laws loſe their force, the Adminiſtration become looſe and deſpiſed.

Such was the reign of Henry the third of France, ſuch that of Richard the ſecond of England. They minded nothing but pleaſure and feſtivity. Their Government by being neglected, grew corrupt, impotent, ſcandalous, at laſt fell to pieces. Yet the former was a capable Prince, indeed capable of great things, and only wanted application; but from his propenſity to pleaſure he diſreliſhed buſineſs and fatigue, and by the pernicious flattery and ſoothing of Minions and Deceivers, came to drop the reins of Government in their hands, and reſerved to himſelf only the name and danger. Richard the ſecond had the ſame voluptuous biaſs, and the like miſchievous Leaders. He was not a Natural, nor a Lunatic, nor ſeems to have wanted a ſhare of ſenſe; but having never been taught or ſuffered, or inclined, to exert it, he continued in the ſtate of childhood, ſimple by habit, fooliſh for want of induſtry and experience, and having never diſcharged the functions of Government, was at laſt unable to diſcharge them.

Sect.

Sect. X. The moſt wretched and wicked of all Princes are wont to account themſelves moſt ſacred, and to claim Attributes divine.

IT is remarkable that both the wretched Princes mentioned in the laſt Section were ſtrangely conceited of their own power, had high notions of Prerogative, nay, claimed Authority almoſt divine, and were extremely jealous of Kingſhip when they exerciſed none, but left themſelves and their Realms to be abuſed and undone by the Paraſites their Maſters. This is the ſpirit of all wretched Princes, to be proud according to the meaſure of their folly, to be the fonder of power for being the leſs able to weild it, and to aſſume an alliance with the Gods when they are too vile or fooliſh to be accounted men. The Roman Emperors, moſt ſignal for cruelty, frenzy and ſtupidity, never failed to be Gods, or akin to the Gods.

Such Chriſtian Princes as have aimed at Titles and Privileges more than human, would have done well to have remembered, that they were but reviving the ſtale pretenſions of ancient Tyrants and Pagans, and owning for their Predeceſſors Madmen, Idiots, Savages, the moſt deteſted that ever the earth bore. Nor indeed have any followed theſe Monſters in this profane and enormous vanity but ſuch as in their other qualities too reſembled them, the vicious, the prodigal, the falſe, the poor ſpirited, and the debauched, ſuch as could not govern well or choſe to govern ill, ſuch as boldly called in Heaven to vindicate what Law and Conſcience condemned, and alledged a deputation from above to blaſt and deſtroy all things

things below. When impious deſigns were entertained, when meaſures execrable and ruinous were purſued, ſolemn Oaths violated, Liberty extinguiſhed, all the Laws overturned, Tyranny ſet up, then a Lieutenancy from God was always forged and pleaded, divine impunity for diabolical deeds, a right from the Father of Mercies, of Juſtice, and of Men, to commit Cruelty and Injuſtice, to oppreſs and butcher.

Viſions like theſe, wild and impious, are refuted by repeating them, and the diſhonour of ſuch as maintained and encouraged them, ſufficiently expoſed. Such too is the mean character of theſe Princes, ſuch has been their reign and fate, as to vindicate the Deity from the blaſphemous imputation of having avowed them.

DISCOURSE V.

The ſame ſubject continued.

Sect. I. The example of a Prince its efficacy: When good how advantageous to his People and himſelf.

BY the actions of a Prince, the ſpirit of a Prince is diſcerned. If he do nothing, it is not he who reigns: If what he does be bad, he had better not reign. One upon whom the felicity of all depends, is under a continual call and obligation to ſee that none be miſerable, that none be wronged or unredreſſed: and becauſe his own example is of univerſal influence, beyond that of exhortation, or of precepts, or of preachments, indeed more cogent than Law itſelf, or penalties, or terrors,

terrors, it behoves him to ſhew himſelf wiſe and virtuous. How glorious is it for a Prince, when it becomes the glory of all men to imitate him? How ſcandalous, when he is only their guide to baſeneſs and debauchery? The goodneſs of his demeanour ſhould vie with the greatneſs of his power [a]. In vain will he cauſe vice to be puniſhed, if he himſelf be vicious: even in his executing of juſt Laws, he will be accounted unjuſt, if he himſelf obſerve them not; nor will the frowns of Juſtice be found of ſuch force, as the countenance and pattern of him who holds, or ſhould hold, her ſcales.

In Peru, during the Government of the Inca's, when any of the Royal Blood, or of the prime Nobles, violated the Law, they were puniſhed more ſeverely than a common Subject, forfeited all their Privileges, were degraded from their hereditary Honours, and accounted Traitors and Tyrants. It was thought reaſonable to debaſe thoſe who had ſhewn themſelves baſe, and to make an example of ſuch as by their great figure and credit were likely to draw others after their track. Upon the like motives a criminal Magiſtrate there was puniſhed according to his character and quality, rather than to that of his crime, from an opinion that in a Miniſter of Juſtice the leaſt evil was not to be tolerated, ſince he was appointed to eradicate evils, and obliged to be more obſervant of the Laws than his inferiors. It was ſaid of the Inca's, that they took ſuch an affectionate care of their Subjects, as to merit being ſtiled rather Fathers of their Country, and Guardians of their Pupils, than Kings over Subjects. They were called by the Indians, *Lovers of the Poor*. Such ſhould every

[a] Par omnibus, et hoc tantum cæteris major quo melior.

Prince

Prince be, and appear to be. His life and conduct are a perpetual ſtandard: All men ſee it, moſt men follow it, and according to the courſe of his life will be the courſe of morality or debauchery.

Veſpaſian in a few years (for he reigned not many) by the practice of frugality made all men frugal, and in that ſhort ſpace ſtopped a torrent of profuſion which had been flowing for a hundred years before. Henry the third debauched all France, as did Richard the ſecond all England. Manners as well as faſhions beginning from the Court, the corrupt manners there become quickly univerſal. The Nobility, eſpecially the young Nobility, perceived and followed the taſte and pleaſures of the King: The Gentry next, then the Commonalty, fell all into the faſhion of their ſuperiors. The reign of the great Queen Elizabeth and that of her Succeſſor, ſufficiently ſhew, how far the example of a virtuous or a voluptuous Prince can go towards making their People riotous or ſober, as well as towards ennobling or debaſing their ſpirits. The public Manners are beſt aſcertained by thoſe of public Rulers, and the ſureſt cure for the irregularities of Subjects, is the regularity of Princes; ſince even Example alone without Authority, goes further than Authority without Example, ſays Pliny [a] to Trajan, who was indeed a pattern to his Subjects as well as to all ſucceeding Princes. He adds, that the fear of puniſhment is but an unſure guide to right morals.

Neither is the Virtue and Morality of a Prince of greater advantage to his People than to himſelf. Virtuous Subjects are always peaceable, nor will they fail to honour a virtuous Governor. It is the debauched, the riotous, the idle, who are prone

[a] Vita principis cenſura eſt, eaque perpetua—non tam imperio nobis opus eſt, quam exemplo.

to

to ſedition, love public changes, and promote them. Whatſoever particular points a Prince may carry by debauching his People, it cannot be the ſtability of his Throne, whatever he may think. A People who have abandoned their Virtue will readily abandon their King; nor does he deſerve any other, if it was he who firſt corrupted them. From a vicious People it is madneſs to hope for virtuous Principles, ſuch as thoſe of juſt allegiance and fidelity. Where no integrity is left, no honour can be expected; and when they are corrupted ſo far as to ſell or throw away their Liberties, which is the higheſt degree of corruption, what other or leſſer degree will they be aſhamed of? Nor can one who has made them univerſally vile, complain, with a good grace, that they prove vile to him. It is but a part of what he taught them.

It is ſaid of China, that when the Emperor proves licentious and bad, when he neglects his duty and the adminiſtration, and falls into enormities and vice, the face of the whole Empire becomes altered, and the People, otherwiſe ſober and wiſe, grow riotous, unruly, debauched, and tumultuous. So that for his own ſake he is obliged to be ſober and orderly, obliged to preſerve, at leaſt, all the appearances of innocence and virtue. Yet the Monarchy of China is the moſt compleatly framed of any that the world ever produced, ſupported by admirable orders and maxims, all ſettled into reverence and authority by the approbation and uſage of numerous ages. But all their admirable maxims and orders are inſufficient where the good example of the Prince is wanting to inforce them. The Chineſe therefore maintain, that by the virtue of the King the People becomes virtuous, and that he is reſponſible to Heaven for the wicked manners of his Kingdom. They ſay, it

is

is a small matter for a Prince to punish crimes; he ought by the example of his own virtue to prevent crimes in others.

The innocence therefore of a Prince's life is the best guide to his People, and the surest guard of his Person and Diadem. This is what Pliny says to Trajan[a]. Many of the Princes before him, besides their own pestilent examples, had forced the People, and all orders of men, by all the influence and terrors of Tyranny, to be debauched, dishonourable, contemptible, and wicked; that all men being corrupt, they themselves might not be seen worse than the rest, and no man have credit or virtue enough to be terrible to the Tyrants. Their policy was as absurd as it was abominable, and their fate proved a warning to Princes and all men, to avoid following their destructive example. Where God doth not bless, man will not, says Mr. Selden.

By the necessity of setting a good example, I do not mean that a Prince should be debarred from diversions and pleasure, but only from such as tend to corrupt the public Manners. With such pleasures of his as hurt not his People, the People have nothing to do. Most of the greatest Princes, as well as the best that ever reigned, were men of pleasure, which is almost universally the effect of much Genius and Fire. Nor does it avail how much they love it, if they pursue it with decency, and neglect not business and their duty. The Emperor Titus, he who was called the delight of mankind, was a man of gallantry, but his gallantries never interfered with his occupations. It is true, says Tacitus, that his soul, youthful and amorous, was not indifferent to Berenice; but from hence

[a] Discimus experimento, fidelissimam custodiam principis, ipsius innocentiam.

aroſe no neglect or relaxation in his conducting affairs of Duty and Truſt. His father Veſpaſian had the ſame turn, loved gay amuſements, but governed carefully. Trajan was addicted to wine and other delights, yet an able and faithful Steward of the Empire. Adrian loved diverſions, but never neglected affairs. Solon, a very wiſe man and worthy Lawgiver, never made any ſcruple to own his fondneſs for Ladies, Muſick and Wine; nor even in his old age had he loſt that taſte, or was aſhamed of it.

Sect. II. The Character of a Prince to be learnt from that of his Company and Favourites, and his deſigns by the Opinions which become in faſhion about him.

FROM the Characters and Principles of the men whom a Prince promotes or favours, his own may be learnt or preſumed. Trajan ſhewed what he himſelf was, by the excellency of the perſons preferred and countenanced by him. In all things unlike the preceding Emperors, who choſe the worſt and vileſt of all men, he choſe the beſt and moſt virtuous. Hence he manifeſted to the world what ſort of men and purſuits pleaſed him beſt. About him were found no informers, no Accuſers, no Advocates for lawleſs Power, no Inſtruments of Oppreſſion, no Flatterers, no Calumniators. The former Princes had choſen Miniſters, not ſo much for their ability in managing affairs, as for their dexterity in adminiſtring to their voluptuouſneſs or fury, not Stateſmen to rule the State, but Buffoons and Pandars to humour the Prince, or Ruffians and Spoilers to rob and kill for him.

What

What else but wickedness, cruelty, continual excesses and misrule could be foreseen or expected from Princes perpetually surrounded with Parasites, Jesters, Harlots, powerful Slaves and Assassins? What else to be presumed of Princes, who caressed and advanced the most opprobrious, the blackest and most detestable of all Villains; but that they disliked, distrusted, and would probably destroy every able, every worthy man? Was it not natural to imagine that an Emperor who was daily told that he might do what he pleased, would do what he pleased, and grow lawless when he was informed that he was above Law.

One of Nero's Favourites, a hireling Orator employed to legitimate Tyranny and Murder by Law and Haranguing, to traduce innocent men by invectives before they were surrendered to the executioner, told the Tyrant his Master, that 'he did but tire himself and his advocates by proceeding so leisurely with the Senate in arraigning and cutting them off one by one, when he might, by saying but a single word, have the whole Body destroyed at one blow.' For such slackness, this faithful Counsellor blamed the bloody Tyrant, as too gentle and over-deliberate. This advice was short and decisive, and not at all disgustful. Nero shewed by abundant liberalities and honours how highly he esteemed the man, preferred him to the Consular and Pontifical Honours, and recompensed him with a bounty of fifty thousand pounds, part of the spoils of such noble Romans as he had hunted down and worried for the Imperial sport of his sacred Sovereign Nero.

When such men and such doctrines prevail, it is easy to guess what will follow, at least what is intended. No man will care to give pernicious counsel but where he knows it will be pleasing, nor will a Prince hear it unless he be inclinable to

take it. He only who has a mind to do what he ought not, will like to be told that he may; and the will of the Prince is then preached up when Law and Liberty are to be pulled down. What means or avails the propagating of arbitrary Maxims, but to juſtify and introduce arbitrary Proceedings? They are too odious to be ſpread where no great deſign is to be ſerved by doing it. Nor need any man deſire a ſurer ſign, that univerſal ſlavery is intended by the Court, than when univerſal ſubmiſſion to it is inculcated upon the People.

This conſideration alone leaves no excuſe or apology to be made for thoſe reigns, when ſuch ſlaviſh Tenets were every where maintained, and the vile Maintainers of theſe Tenets countenanced, hired and preferred: when from the public Tribunals and public Pulpits, places ſacred to Law and Truth, it became faſhionable, nay, became the only and ſureſt way of riſing there, to aſſert that there was no Law ſave in the wild Will of one, who though ſworn to defend Law, might lawfully overturn it; to aſſert impious falſhoods manifeſt to all men, to father ſuch falſhoods upon the God of truth, under his holy name to ſhelter outrageous oppreſſions, to bind up the hands of the oppreſſed; to maintain that the lives of men, which they held from God, their property, which was ſecured to them by the Conſtitution, the Conſtitution itſelf contrived by the wiſdom of men for their own preſervation, and defended through ages by their virtue and bravery, were all at the mere mercy and luſt of him who was ſolemnly bound to protect all, but might, if he ſo liſted, deſtroy them all, without oppoſition; nay, all oppoſition was damnable. When all this was notorious, conſtant, univerſal, the language of Power, the ſtyle of Favourites, and the road to favour, what doubt could remain whither

whither it all tended? To prevent all doubts, arbitrary measures were pursued, whilst arbitrary principles were promoted. The persons of men were illegally imprisoned, illegal fines imposed, estates violently seized, and the Public confidently robbed.

Sect. III. Doctrines in defence of lawless Power, and against civil Liberty, to be punished as Treason against the Public. How Princes discover their spirit.---They seldom take warning.

THE Parliament of Paris maintained, that there were crimes which the King could not pardon, such as any great mischief or indignity done to the State. Pray what treatment is due to a deliberate opinion, declared and urged, that a State may be destroyed, all its Laws annulled, and all men in it made miserable slaves, whenever the chief Magistrate thinks fit? Can there be a greater crime, a greater indication of malice against the Public, or a higher evil intended and avowed? Or can the Authors of such horrible positions be acceptable to any but a horrible Tyrant, to a Nero, or one who would be as bad as he, one who hates his People, pursues an interest destructive of theirs, and is consequently their enemy [a]?

An English Prince, who longed for power unlimited, though he made miserable Use of what he had, was wont to say, 'That a Crown was 'not worth having, if he that wore it must be 'thus controuled by a parcel of fellows.' He meant the Parliament, who must have been fel-

[a] Tempus fuit, et nimium diu fuit, quo alia adversa, alia secunda principi et nobis.

lows indeed, and bad ones, if the worſt of them was worſe than himſelf. He had been truſted with vaſt ſums of the public money for the ſervice of the Public, had betrayed that truſt, ſunk the money, or applied it againſt the Public, and after ſo vile a fraud, inſtead of penitence and ſhame, had the face to complain that he was not entruſted with the whole without limitation or inquiry. He had Paraſites enough to tell him that it was his right, and over the Kingdom there were Impoſtors more than enough to perſuade People to believe and ſubmit to it, men who for ſome preferment, or for better preferment to themſelves, had the aſſurance to tell a great Nation, that they ought to bear bondage: Nor did ought but the power of ſorcery and deluſion keep the ſhameleſs deluders from being ſtoned.

Such dreadful doctrines, however, and correſponding practices, alarmed all men who had preſerved their honeſty and their ſenſes, and there enſued ſuch a ſtruggle between him and his People as ſoured and inflamed them, and made him miſerable, fearful and inſecure all the reſt of his reign. By purſuing the like Politics, by countenancing the like arbitrary Maxims, his Father had come to be firſt diſliked, then diſtruſted, at laſt undone. But he had not wiſdom and virtue enough to profit by this example, no more than his immediate Succeſſor, who made ſuch an open claim of doing what he pleaſed with his Kingdoms, that his Kingdoms, to ſave themſelves, drove him out. Even the holy men, who for many years had blinded him with a belief, that he might violate his Oath and Truſt with ſafety, as ſoon as they found the weight of his oppreſſive hand, which they had encouraged him to exert, turned fiercely againſt him, and bad him open defiance. Too few Princes take warning. They are often ſo blinded by their

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own wilfulneſs and ſovereign fortune, or by the ſoothings of flatterers, eſpecially of ſuch as flatter them in ſtrains of piety, and miſlead them in the name of the Lord, that their doom ſometimes comes upon them, before they are apprized of danger.

King Eric, heir to Queen Margaret, who reigned over Sweden, Denmark and Norway, was depoſed whilſt yet exulting in his power, ſecurity, and violence, and deſpiſing the cries of his People, whom he had barbarouſly oppreſſed. Yet his Succeſſors proved not wiſer, nor, conſequently, ſafer. Confiding in their own ſtrength, and too often inſtigated by the Clergy, they rioted in Oppreſſion, Barbarity and Maſſacres, till the evil hour overtook them unforeſeen, when they had quite forfeited all title to pity and aſſiſtance. The Emperor Charles the fifth was a Prince of ſenſe, yet grew raſh and wanton through good fortune, and was inſolent to his captives, ſome of them great Princes, whom he carried about, from place to place, in a very injurious manner. Whence, ſays Thuanus, he gained not a Triumph by the victory, but the moſt inveterate hate by his Triumph. But amidſt his glory and pride, ſudden diſtreſs and fears overtook him: At Auſburg his ſoldiers mutinied with great fury, for want of their pay; nor was his dread and danger leſs from the citizens, who immediately took arms to defend their houſes from being plundered.

Nero was diverting himſelf in the Theatre, when news came of the revolt of Gaul, and Vitellius immerſed in debauchery when Veſpaſian was proclaimed Emperor. Caligula and Domitian were concerting more murders, at the inſtant that they themſelves were pierced with the fatal knife; ſo was Commodus. When men have a while

done evil actions with success, they begin to think either that they are not evil, or that they may be repeated with equal safety. They do not consider that punishment often comes the surer for coming slow, and that by proceeding in their crimes, they are but advancing to meet it. Wicked men cease to do wickedly when it is out of their power, and only necessity can reform them.

Sect. IV. Of the Veracity of Princes ---- The folly of Falshood--- The worst and silliest men practise it most---it is inseparable from Tyranny.

IF we consider the character of a Prince for Veracity or the want of it, it is certain that as he values his word or disregards it, he himself will be disregarded or valued. The same man can never be accounted honourable and false, nor is it possible for him to follow Falshood, but the fame of Falshood will follow him. To gain belief to words, actions must follow. Evasions and chicaning can never save him: by such shifts and meannesses he will be thought the more mean. When a man is once known to be a knave and a lyar, what man of sense or honest man will trust him; and when a Prince is found to falsify and play low tricks, what Nation will trust him? For no man, nor Prince, was ever false or treacherous in many instances, without being discovered; and a treacherous temper, once detected, becomes both hated and impotent. Tiberius in whatever he said was thought to mean something else, even when he did not.

In Falshood there is no excellence or praise. Any Blockhead, any Lunatic can be a lyar. Caligula, who was really crazy, could be exceeding false, and though he owned himself above shame,

yet

yet practiſed craft. He was full of darkneſs and equivocation, and a great diſſembler: a leſſon which he had learnt early and carefully in the Court of Tiberius.

The ſilleſt people are the greateſt lyars, and the moſt groſs and ſtupid Nations have been found deceitful and hollow. For deceit is not peculiar to Courts, though it may be much improved there, nor has any man cauſe to value himſelf upon an accompliſhment common amongſt Barbarians and Canibals, indeed fit for none elſe. Tyrants, who are worſe than Canibals, are always falſe. Nero was ſo in a ſovereign degree, ſo by nature, ſo by education, and could kiſs and wheedle ſuch as he hated, and meant to deſtroy. Thus he behaved to his Mother, thus to Seneca, treated them with much fondneſs, with many Embraces, and cauſed them to be murdered. Even the ſtupid Vitellius could falſify and deceive, could cover the rancour of his heart under great complaiſance and familiarity. Domitian was as falſe as either, ſudden and ſubtle in his cruelty; and whenever he was moſt implacable, appeared moſt moderate and merciful. I believe the ſame to be generally true of all Tyrants ancient or later, as well as of John Baſilowitz, Lewis the eleventh, and Muly of Morocco. It is the firſt leſſon that they learn, it is the moſt eaſy, and it is neceſſary that he who has an evil heart ſhould hide it, and conceal or diſguiſe his wicked purpoſes.

When men are continually purſuing miſchievous deſigns, they will be apt to practiſe continual hypocriſy; for no man will own his intentions to be bad: and ſuch as are conſcious of their own depraved inclinations will be prone to ſuſpect others, will ſtudy to over-reach whomſoever they ſuſpect, will hate thoſe who are like themſelves, as well as thoſe who are not. Hence the conſtant commerce

of insincerity amongst corrupt and designing men: when base motives govern their actions, guile governs their tongues, and fair words cover dark ends.

This is a terrible situation, and wretched policy. He who deceives all men, will be deceived by all: For no man will trust, no man will love one who cheats every man. Hatred grows as naturally out of distrust, as love out of confidence. I do not find that Tiberius had one sincere friend in the world; for he had, or was believed to have had, a friendship for no man. So that as all men feared or suspected him, he was hated by all, trusted by none. It was dealing with him according to his own measure: Had he loved his People, he might have had their love, and been faithfully served, had he acted faithfully.

Sect. V. Princes of noble and good minds scorn to deceive: thence their Glory and Popularity.

QUEEN Elizabeth, who regarded her Subjects as her Children, was by her Subjects honoured as their common Parent, and as such she lived with them, as did Trajan with the Romans. She never broke her faith with her People, never deceived them. They suspected her of no evil designs, as they saw she practised none; and were zealous for her glory, because her glory was for their good. They liked to see her great, since she sought no greatness which tended to make them less, none in which they had not a share. She retained their obedience by the strongest tye, that of their affections; their affections were engaged by the strongest and most natural bonds, those of their own interest; nor knew she what it

was

was to have an intereſt diſtinct from theirs, much leſs an oppoſite intereſt. The greateſt conteſt between her and her People, her and her Parliaments, was that of mutual confidence and zeal, as was ſaid of the above-mentioned Emperor and the Roman Senate.

Mr. Selden ſays of her, that 'to her People ſhe 'committed her confidence under God, and they 'to her their chiefeſt treaſure upon earth.' He ſays, that ſhe once refuſed a ſubſidy as too much, would take but one half, and thanked the People for the remnant; 'a courteſy, ſays he, that rang 'loud abroad, to the ſhame of other Princes.' I think it is the ſame Author who obſerves, that 'to a Prince who ſpares them, the People will 'always be liberal, and a good Prince will ſpare 'a liberal People.' It is no wonder that under her the Credit of the Exchequer was as high as that of the Exchange. Theſe were ways to endear her Government to all men, ways to endear Monarchy when conducted by ſuch a Monarch. In her days were ſeen no ſtruggles for a Commonwealth, nor did her Subjects wiſh for a plurality of Rulers, when they were happier under one. Monarchy muſt grow terrible before it grows odious, oppreſſive ere people long to ſhake it off; nor will they have recourſe to another form of Government, till driven to it for relief. Princes are cenſured when they bear inſults and encroachments from one another, and blamed if they take not vengeance. Is not equal conſideration, at leaſt ſome conſideration, to be had to the honour and preſervation of a People when oppreſſed and worried by their Rulers, men whom they pay ſo dearly, and ſupport ſo nobly, to ſecure and protect them, an office which that illuſtrious Queen performed with ſuch benevolence and wiſdom?

Her glorious cotemporary Henry the fourth of France, to his other great qualities added that of great Veracity, in this, as in every thing elſe, very different from the two Princes his immediate Predeceſſors. In the Court of Charles the ninth, Falſhood and Treachery prevailed; and theſe vices were accompanied by all others, by cruelties, debauchery, poiſonings and aſſaſſinations, by all ſorts of oppreſſions, all ſorts of miſrule. Henry the third was found to be ſo fraudulent and falſe, that his promiſes paſſed for ſnares, and by having deceived all men, could be truſted by none. For his known want of faith ſo often given and broken, he was abandoned by his ſubjects; and even his oaths, even declarations under his hand, paſſed for nothing but proofs that he would certainly violate them. At the ſame time the King of Navarre (afterward Henry the fourth) who had never failed in his word, was truſted by every body. Even his enemies truſted him: When upon occaſion he had offered them hoſtages, they refuſed the ſame, and deſired only his word: Yes, his mortal enemies the Spaniards, upon coming to a treaty with him, refuſed hoſtages, and ſought only his word.

This was Virtue, this was Wiſdom; and what Prince who knows the value, the glory and advantage of it, would be without it? A worthy Miniſter of his, the Preſident Jeannin, a man of excellent underſtanding, was famed for equal probity, and acted in Counſel, acted in Negotiations, and with particular men, without any refinings or doublings, or little artifices. Theſe are what a man truly wiſe deſpiſes, what none but the apes of wiſe men practiſe. Henry the fourth held his honour ſo ſacred, as to declare, 'That he would 'loſe his Crown rather than cauſe the leaſt ſuſ-'picion of breaking his Word, even to his greateſt 'enemies.

Sect.

Sect. VI. The consequences of Falshood in a Prince, Scorn and Impotence.---It is the mark of a poor and dishoneſt Spirit.---Great and virtuous Spirits abhor it.

THERE is a meanneſs, a deformity in tricking and lying, ſuch as a great and a good mind ſcorns as well as deteſts. In truth the honour of Henry the fourth and of Queen Elizabeth, their ſteadineſs and nobleneſs of mind, were ſo known and prized, that as far as their names were known, their perſons were feared or reverenced. They deſpiſed that ſort of *Kingcraft* ſo unmanly and pedantic, which a cotemporary Prince uſed to boaſt of, and by which he made himſelf little in the eyes of the world, and of his People. His Falſhood was ſo notorious, and he ſo notoriouſly decried for his Falſhood, that the only fruit he reaped from it, was impotence and contempt. He had no kind of credit abroad, worſe than none at home; his treaties were abortive, his mediations ſlighted, his reſentments laughed at; and he who called himſelf the wiſeſt King in Europe, was really the Dupe and the Jeſt of all Chriſtendom. The only people who could depend upon him, were his Favourites, and theſe he durſt not deceive: as often as he dared he did, and when he was about to part with one of them for ever, he could aſk him, after many kiſſes, 'For God's ſake, when ſhall I 'ſee thee again?' Then turn round and ſay, 'I 'hope in God I ſhall never ſee thy face more.' With foreign States his promiſes and his menaces were alike diſregarded, becauſe alike unexecuted, and with his People their Prince had not ſo much credit as a Banker. He had ſo often, ſo ſhamefully, forfeited his credit, perverted the public truſt, waſted

wasted the public money, that he was thought unworthy of all farther confidence. The most disgraceful of all Bankrupts, is a King bankrupt of his Honour.

The Romans, the greatest People that the Sun ever saw, as they were great in their fortune and valour, were so also in their honour, which they observed with signal punctuality, and by it gained renown with all nations, who whilst they could depend upon their faith, adhered with fidelity to their interest. Some of their allies were so obstinate in their adherence to the Romans, that rather than relinquish them they suffered the sword, famine and utter destruction, nay, destroyed themselves. They held treachery in such detestation, that when a traiterous Schoolmaster in a Town which they besieged, offered to procure it to be surrendered by betraying all his scholars, the children of the principal Inhabitants, into the hands of the Roman General, they abhorred the proposal, and gave up the villain even to their enemies. The same noble courtesy they did to King Pyrrhus, whilst yet desolating Italy: When his physician proposed to poison him for a certain reward, they rejected the execrable proposal, and communicated it to his Master. Long afterwards, when they had lost their Liberty, and with it too much of their virtue, they yet refused the offer of Adgandestrius a Prince of Germany, who undertook, 'That if the Senate would send him poison, he 'would dispatch Arminius;' the most terrible foe that they had ever found in that country. The answer of the Senate was very noble, 'That not 'by snares and blows in the dark, but openly 'armed, and in the day of battle, the Roman 'People pursued vengeance against their enemies.' The Romans, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry the fourth, had great Spirits, great Honour, but were

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not accomplished in little falsifications, such as the above-mentioned Prince gloried in by the name of *Kingcraft*. It was well he had some cause of glorying.

Sect. VII. Tyranny worse than Anarchy, or rather nothing but Anarchy.

IT is usually said, that bad Government is better than none; a proposition which is far from self-evident. I am apt to think that absolute Tyranny is worse than Anarchy; for I can easily suppose popular confusion to be less mischievous than a settled active Tyranny, that it will do no less harm, and is likely to end sooner. All tumults are in their nature, and must be, short in duration, must soon subside, or settle into some order. But Tyranny may last for ages, and go on in destroying, till at last it has left nothing to destroy. What can the most dreadful Anarchy produce but a temporary work of desolation and fury, what but violation of Law and Life? And can Government be said to exist, where all Justice is neglected, where all Violence and Oppression is committed, where lawless Will is the only reason, where the ravages of blind appetite, and of the blind sword, are the only administration?

If this be Government, what is Anarchy? Is obedience due to aught but Law and Protection? Is he a Governor who spoils and kills? Am I obliged to pay duty and reverence to my enemy, to a common robber? By doings, and not by titles and names, is a Governor distinguished from an enemy; and less vengeance is due to a professed spoiler, than to a spoiling Magistrate. What have Societies to do with such a destructive Traitor, but to exterminate or destroy him, before he has destroyed society and

and all men? An Oppreſſor under the name of a Ruler, is the moſt deteſtable Oppreſſor; and, by ſuch impudence and mockery, ſhould but quicken univerſal reſentment. I know of no argument for deſtroying Anarchy, but what is full as ſtrong for the deſtruction of Tyranny.

Sect. VIII. Bad Princes ought to be treated with ſeverity and abhorrence, in honour and juſtice to the good. ---- No worthy Prince offended to ſee a wicked Prince expoſed.

IN diſcourſing on Princes, I have treated the good with all poſſible reverence, as the tender Fathers of their People, as benevolent Guardians of Law and Righteouſneſs, as Friends to human kind: A divine Character, which can never be too much prized, never too much extolled. If towards the bad I have ſhewn equal indignation, I hope I ſhall want no excuſe, ſince it was equally juſt. They who honour worthy Princes, cannot avoid deteſting Princes that are wicked; nor can ſuch as hate not the wicked, ever truly love the worthy, ſays Pliny [a] to Trajan, who, I dare ſay, believed him, and muſt needs find it a genuine compliment to his own excellent reign, to ſee thoſe of the preceding Tyrants well expoſed, ſince the blacker theirs appeared, the brighter his muſt ſhine. To expoſe them was to praiſe him, and it is chiefly by ſuch oppoſition of characters, that his friend the Conſul adorns that of the Emperor, in his immortal Panegyric, a Maſter-piece of Eloquence, Truth and good Senſe, and a continued Invective againſt

[a] Neque enim ſatis amarint bonos Principes, qui malos ſatis non oderint.

Domitian,

Domitian, and the other Imperial Savages, who had ſtained and perverted the Sovereignty. It is thus, in a great meaſure, that he applauds Trajan, and his method was juſt.

To reverence bad Princes, is to rob and injure the good, as reverence is the reward and perquiſite of well-doing. If no evil whatſoever can be entitled to reſpect, what claim to it have the authors of evil, they eſpecially who commit the higheſt? Do the Indians well in adoring miſchievous Demons? Were the ancient Pagans wiſe in their wild worſhip of fire, fevers and crocodiles? Was any beaſt of prey, were all beaſts of prey, half ſo deſtructive as Nero? Were the ravages of the Conflagration or a Peſtilence worſe than his ravages? Are men bound to reverence the plagues, the tormentors, and the conſumers of men? To ſpeak reſpectfully of bad men, Princes or others, is not reverence but flattery, and flattery is abuſe. Before men can be brought to adore a hurtful being, they muſt be firſt (ſo far at leaſt) diveſted of their ſenſes, and ſtruck blind by ſuperſtition, and then it is reverence without reaſon, conſequently nothing. Who would value himſelf upon the trances of a mad-man, miſtaking you for a Deity, and adoring you?

A good Prince ſhould indeed take it amiſs to perceive bad ones ſpared, as it will argue a preſumption that he approves them, or will come to reſemble them: An imputation which he ſhould fear and abhor. He will therefore, for his own ſake, encourage all freedom to examine and diſplay their behaviour and memory. Nor can he diſcourage this as long as he means not to do as they did. Pliny aſſerts it roundly, as a matter of the utmoſt certainty: 'That, when of an evil 'Prince poſterity ſays nothing, it is evident that 'the preſent Prince follows his ſteps.' When Commodus

Commodus put one to death for reading the life of Caligula, freely written by Suetonius, what could the Public infer, but that he knew his own conduct to be like that of Caligula? Trajan, who was a virtuous Prince, cared not how contumeliously the name and memories of Tyrants were used: Nor was ought a greater proof of the excellence of his administration, and the integrity of his heart, than that in his reign it was safe for all men to inveigh against evil Government, and evil Princes, as the same Pliny observes; and elsewhere, still complimenting that glorious Emperor; 'We then shew 'how passionately we love good Princes, when we 'are seen utterly to abhor the bad.' Tacitus says, to the deathless praise of this reign, that such was the rare felicity of the times, 'That you might 'entertain what sentiments you pleased, and de-'clare what sentiments you entertained.'

In consequence of such true principles, these two noble Authors treat Nero, Domitian and their fellows, as Monsters, Beasts, and Executioners; and thus must every honest, every rational Author treat such Princes. Pliny says, that Domitian was 'the Spoiler, the Butcher of every excellent Per-'son; a most treacherous Prince; a most rapa-'cious Robber.' With such bitter and terrible names did a Roman Consul treat a wicked Emperor, in presence of a good one, Pliny before Trajan, nay, speaking to Trajan, Tacitus is not more tender: like the other, he loved virtue, and hated vice too much to be so.

DIS-

DISCOURSE VI.

Of Bigotry in Princes.

Sect. I. The miſchief of Bigotry in a Prince: Its ſtrange efficacy, and what Chimera's govern it.

TACITUS tells us, that Otho was, in his deſigns upon the Sovereignty, violently inſtigated by the vain predictions of the Aſtrologers, who were ever confidently averring, that the Stars preſaged approaching revolutions, and a year of ſignal glory to Otho. What elſe was this his abſurd and greedy belief in the Aſtrologers but Bigotry to deceivers and falſe prophecy, whence he was prompted to ſeize the Empire, murder the Emperor, and throw the world into War and convulſions? For with him theſe wretched predictions paſſed as uttered by a prophetic ſpirit, and as the propitious warnings of the Fates. My Author, according to his cuſtom, accounts for Otho's credulity in theſe by a fine obſervation, 'That ſuch is 'the viſionary genius of human nature ever moſt 'zealous to believe things dark and unſearchable.' He adds, that Ptolemy (one of the Aſtrologers moſt credited by him) confined not himſelf afterwards to predictions only; but having firſt flattered the ambition of Otho, was now prompting him to the laſt bloody act of treaſon. His reflection upon this is juſt and ſtrong, 'That from the har-'bouring of ſuch aſpiring wiſhes, to the forming 'of ſuch black purpoſes, the mind is led with 'wonderful facility.'

Crœſus,

Crœsus, King of Lydia, was a bigotted believer of Oracles, and many and immense were the gifts and oblations, which he made them. By their fallacious responses he was incited to war with Cyrus, which ended in his perpetual captivity, and in the utter conquest of his wealthy Kingdom.

Bigotry, in a weak Prince, or in any Prince, is always one of his worst and most dangerous weaknesses, generally ruinous to his People, often to himself; as it subjects him to the blind controul of narrow-spirited and designing Guides (for all Bigots must have Directors and Masters) who in managing his conscience seldom forget their own interest, and to that interest often sacrifice the Public and all things.

Bigotry has a kindness for nothing but itself, and to all the rest of the world bears at best perfect unconcern, generally perfect malice. Hence wild wars and persecutions, Countries oppressed and exhausted, Communities enslaved and butchered, all perhaps for names and garments, for postures and grimaces, for sounds, and distinctions, and nonsense. Corresponding to the design is the result; numbers are made miserable or destroyed, that a few may flourish and domineer. For, that dominion is founded in Grace, and that the holy ought to inherit the Earth, is a position as old and extensive as roguery and enthusiasm. From this spirit Princes who are guided by it, instead of public Fathers and Protectors, often become public Pests and destroyers; Nations are animated against Nations, and those of the same Nation plague and devour one another.

What human wisdom can restrain men actuated by divine fury? And when they think that the Deity commands them to spoil and kill, what avails any counsel or exhortation to protect and to save? Sheck Eidar a Prince and Enthusiast of Persia, having

having made a Reform of the Mahometan Religion there, declared it impoſſible to be ſaved without adhering to his ſyſtem: And upon ſuch as are to be damned in the next world, it is always deemed lawful, nay, neceſſary and meritorious, to inflict penalties and death in this.

The Turkiſh Doctors, on the contrary, differing from thoſe of Perſia in ſome important niceties, hold it lawful for the true believers (that is, for themſelves) to kill, deſtroy and exterminate the Perſians. Thoſe pious zealots even hope from the goodneſs of God, that, at the day of Judgment, he will graciouſly change theſe Heretics into Aſſes, and doom them to carry the Jews, as the moſt contemptible of all Nations, a full trot into Hell. For ſuch cruel and unrelenting cenſures, certainly theſe ſound divines muſt have enormous provocation, and the Perſians undoubtedly hold the moſt ſhocking opinions. They do ſo: For, inſtead of waſhing the naked feet all over, as the orthodox Turks do, they ſatisfy themſelves with only ſprinkling the water lightly over them. Another of their damnable Doctrines is, that they do not trim their Muſtaches, according to the pure doctrine and uſage of theſe their antagoniſts, but cut their beards only upon the chin. What is yet more horrible, they hold it lawful to wear green about their feet, a colour ſacred to the memory of Mahomet; and, as a further demonſtration of their obſtinacy and peſtilent notions, they aſſert the lawfulneſs of wearing a red Turbant. What can be a more juſt, what a nobler ground for hatred and war between theſe two Nations; war and hatred never to have an end?

Incited by ſuch worthy cauſes as theſe, and openly avowing them as the motives of anger and hoſtility, their reſpective Princes have often conducted

ducted vaſt armies againſt each other, waſted countries, ſacrificed millions. An Emperor of Turkey had it once in his head to have maſſacred all the Chriſtians in his Dominions, though in ſeveral of his Countries they were by far the greater part. But this and all the Laws of mercy and policy are but weak conſiderations when oppoſed to religious impulſe, and the inſtigation of Bigotry and Bigots. Mahomet was to be humoured, he who was the Apoſtle of God, he who hated Infidels. Now who would, who durſt refuſe to oblige God and Mahomet? Nor was ſuch reaſoning peculiar to the Mahometan Derviſes, the good men who conduct the Conſciences of Mahometan Princes. The profeſſors of the beſt Religion cannot reaſon better, whenever they allege Religion to juſtify violence.

Sect. II. How eaſily a bigotted Prince is led againſt reaſon and intereſt: What ravages he is apt to commit.

FOR ſuch dreams and whimſies as thoſe laſt recited, or for whimſies equally abſurd, equally reproachful to men and ſocieties, have Princes been brought to conſume their People and riſk their States. The Emperor Juſtinian, bent upon a war againſt the Vandals in Africa, was diſſuaded from it by his firſt Miniſter, the Captain of his guards, for ſolid reaſons, but urged again to the ſame wild deſign by the credit and fooliſh reaſons of a Biſhop, who it ſeems had in his ſleep ſeen a viſion, which encouraged the Emperor by all means to exterminate thoſe Heretics. (They were Arians.) Who could withſtand ſuch an argument? And was not the expedition a wiſe one, worthy of a judicious Prince and of the Public-weal? It was at leaſt

leaſt worthy of him who adviſed it, and he dreamed or lied meritoriouſly for the truth, that is to ſay, for his own opinion and animoſity. In ſanguinary, in wild and deſtructive counſels, none have ever exceeded, few have ever equalled, thoſe who profeſſed to be the Miniſters of mercy and peace.

Henry the ſecond of France made a moſt ſcandalous Peace with the Emperor, even to the diſmembering of his own Dominions, on purpoſe to make war upon his native Subjects, and to cruſh and butcher the Hugonots, who gave him no provocation, but that of praying to God in a manner which they judged moſt acceptable to God. This the ſelfiſh Bigots who governed his Paſſions and Counſels, and diſhonoured his Crown, repreſented as the moſt crying crime, and this crime he puniſhed with the moſt glaring rigour. It was a fine purſuit in which theſe ſeducers had engaged a Prince, in himſelf truly magnanimous, that of cutting the Throats of his People. One of his Succeſſors, a great aimer at Glory, with all his mighty ambition was cramped by the little ſpirit of a Bigot. He who aimed at univerſal Monarchy, was himſelf ſubject to the Empire of Bigots, and his Bigotry made his country groan, made him an enemy to great part of his Subjects, the ſobereſt and moſt induſtrious of them all, and produced oppreſſions and deſolation utterly repugnant to the glory which he thirſted after without meaſure, and claimed without a title.

The expulſion of the Moors from Spain, effected by the devices and inſtigations of reſtleſs and miſchievous Monks, working upon the Bigotry of the King, and continually alarming his Conſcience with the anger and denunciations of Heaven for his ſlowneſs and want of zeal, is another ſad inſtance

instance of the baneful nature of this sort of spirit, when found in a Prince, or in those who govern him. In all places where it prevails, how different soever they be, and upon all occasions, how contradictory soever they prove, whatever it proposes or pursues, is still the cause of God: And who that once believes this, will, by opposing it, venture to fight against God? There is afterwards no room, nor perhaps safety, to mention public good or public peace, or any temporal consideration whatever. For what are these in comparison? What signified the numbers and industry of the Moors, as long as they were Infidels? Where the harm of dispeopling and impoverishing Spain, when, with so small a loss, so great, so pious a point was gained, that of quieting the King's Conscience and making the Monks easy? No matter what became of the Bees so the Drones were safe and the Bigot was appeased.

Sect. III. A bigotted Prince how subject to be drawn into Guilt and Folly.——The dictates of Bigotry how opposite to those of true Religion.

ANY folly, any chimera or punctilio, let it be as absurd, as mean and trifling as it will, when once it is pronounced sacred, grows instantly momentous, and equal, nay, superior, to all things. Whether it be a piece of earth, or piece of building, or a coat, or a cap, or a day, or an uncouth word; it is more important than the tranquillity of the world and all the rights of men, and for it all men are to be oppressed, or worried, or slaughtered. Nay, the highest and most diffusive mischief which a Prince can do, shall be made his highest merit; and

and public devaſtation or a general maſſacre ſhall be recommended as a ſure and pious atonement for his private vices and enormities.

Henry the third of France was very debauched, very devout, a notorious Bigot, a notorious Oppreſſor. But by acts of penance all his acts of impiety were cancelled, his conſcience calmed, and he free to begin a new ſcore of iniquity. This was the repeated round of his life. Amongſt the atonements exacted from him by the mercileſs Hypocrites whoſe property and inſtrument he was, the perſecution of the Proteſtants was always one: The reſt conſiſted in profuſe bounties and donations to the Monks. So that the blood and ſpoil of his poor Subjects payed for all. He, moreover, rendered himſelf contemptible by deſcending to ſtrange and ridiculous mortifications, and to all the fooliſh mummery of Friars, ſo much below a King or a Man, but ſo much conducing to the holy purpoſes of his ghoſtly Guides, who thus bewitched him and held him faſt to their fraternity.

Whilſt the late Pope, a well-meaning man, but a wretched Bigot, inſtead of attending to the Adminiſtration of his Principality, was beſtowing all his thoughts and time in viſiting Churches and Images, in conſecrating Chapels and Altars, and the like pious and unprofitable fooleries, corruption and injuſtice prevailed in his Court, oppreſſion and miſery amongſt his People. With the beſt intentions that could be, his reign was deſpicable and grievous. What Philip de Comines ſays, that a ſtupid Prince is the heavieſt curſe that God can ſend upon a People, is equally true of a bigotted one; for Bigotry is religious ſtupidity, pious crazineſs; and as folly, whether natural or ſpiritual, is of itſelf blind and always requires guiding, the Bigot as well as the Blockhead will be for ever a ſlave to Pedagogues and Seducers.

Cardinal Richlieu, amongſt the other implements of his Sovereignty over his Maſter the Monarch, was always provided with ſome able Divines to explain away conſcientious Scruples, the impreſſions of Morality, and the precepts of the Goſpel, whenever the ſame thwarted his Paſſions and Politics. Nay, the whole Aſſembly of the Clergy of France always proved his complaiſant Caſuiſts upon occaſion, and accommodated their Theology to the drift of the firſt Miniſter. When he was engaging theſe his Sycophants to declare the marriage of the Duke of Orleans to be null, becauſe he did not like it (and a better reaſon the Bible itſelf could not have furniſhed for illuminating theſe venerable Guides) the Queen Mother wrote to the Pope, to forbid the Clergy from meddling with that marriage: 'For, ſhe ſaid, it was 'publicly notorious, that the Biſhops were all 'Courtiers, and would ſay whatever the King or 'Miniſter would have them, and even contradict 'what they then declared, ſhould a future Mi'niſter bid them.' By the like management he brought the King, who, like a good Catholic, abhorred Heretics, to protect and aſſiſt Heretics, as he did the Proteſtants in Germany, yet at the ſame time to cruſh and oppreſs his own Subjects, becauſe they were Heretics, though by the Law and his Duty he owed them protection.

To believe in God, to truſt in him, and to adore him, is the duty of a Prince and of all men. But, for the love of God to hurt and diſtreſs men, is amazing wickedneſs and phrenzy. Conſcience is the moſt ſacred property, and has as juſt a right to protection from the Sovereign as have the lives and fortunes of his Subjects. If difference in Religion cauſe diſputes amongſt his People, ſo does difference about civil Property; and in religious controverſies amongſt them, it is his duty to hold as

even

even a hand as in litigations about money and land. In one caſe as well as the other, he is to leave them to Law, and Reaſon, and Argument, and to prevent their deciding religious opinions, any more than civil ſuits, by force and violence.

Sect. IV. Further inſtances of the great miſchiefs occaſioned by Bigotry of Princes.

WHENCE proceeded the Croiſades, thoſe mad expeditions ſo often undertaken by Chriſtian Princes to recover Judea out of the hands of the Saracens, but from the Bigotry of Princes and People inſpired and managed by the Pope and the Clergy? For this, Europe was drained of her beſt Men and Treaſures, and her ſtrength waſted in the Eaſt, for no reaſons of State or ſecurity, but only for the ſake of the Rock where our Saviour's Body had lain for ſome hours. Neither he nor his Apoſtles had declared, that he had endowed this Rock with any ſanctity or virtue, any more than any other ſtone or earth upon which he had chanced to tread. But the cheating Prieſts, they who always laid the firſt foundations of their Empire in deluſion, by their noiſe, impudence and forgeries raiſed ſuch frantic zeal in the minds of men, as produced great armies, efforts, and ſlaughter for the recovery of a bit of ground juſt like other ground. It was apparent that neither God, nor Chriſt, nor the bleſſed Spirit concerned themſelves about it, elſe they would have guarded it from the hands of Infidels. So far otherwiſe, that never did any warlike expeditions more miſerably miſcarry, never was ſo much valour and ſtrength ſo uſeleſly thrown away. Indeed, the whole ended in misfortunes and diſappointments, nor produced aught ſave the deſtruction of Chriſtian blood and

wealth abroad, misrule, weakness and poverty at home, and the establishment of Ecclesiastical Tyranny in Christendom. Yet, though it was manifest that God blessed not these extravagant rambles, which were likewise repugnant to all good policy amongst men, the solemn cheats who deceived in his name, who would always be knowing his will in spite of himself, and who valued not the interest of men, failed not to preach up more, when all the former had ended in nothing but infamy and ruin. They cared not what became of the world so they could govern it, and with all their might, and frauds, and impudence, again and again excited Christendom to destroy itself to humour them.

What will not deluders dare, what will not the deluded suffer, when delusion reigns and reason is subdued? When men have lost the use of their senses, they are not likely to be very circumspect about their persons and fortunes; nor will such as rob them of their understanding, spare their lives or property; and they who belied God made no scruple of abusing men. Still more Croisades were preached up and undertaken. To carry them on men sacrificed their persons and estates, married women their jewels and rich apparel, maidens their portions, widows their dowries; he who had no property gave his life, and such as were too feeble to travel and fight, hired others in their room. Under such phrenzy the Impostors had brought them by an assurance of pardon for all their sins, by an offer of the inheritance of the Saints to all who had the grace to act like madmen, and perish like fools. Paradise and Salvation, of which these Jugglers assumed to be the disposers, cost them nothing, and these they were always ready to traffic away for any substantial advantage and gratification present. Thus they abused the Laity with

with words and hopes, a ſort of payment which they themſelves would never accept: Nor, in truth, was ever any ſet of men ſo addicted as they to ſecure all their rewards and eſtabliſhments in this life, whilſt, to diſguiſe their deſigns, they were all the while diſcourſing piouſly of another.

They preached up the contempt of the world to others, and ſtill humbly accepted to themſelves whatever they had induced others to renounce. Nay, to engroſs all, ſeemed to be the only drift of ſuch preachments.

All this was glaring and notorious to common ſenſe: But the Monks had vanquiſhed and baniſhed all common ſenſe by the dint of ghoſtly fears: And to combat any underſtanding that was ſtill ſtubborn and unbewitched, they were furniſhed with other weapons, with dungeons, ropes and faggots. Every one who dared to contradict the Monks, though in defence of the veracity and honour of God, and for the welfare of human-kind, was an Atheiſt, at beſt a Heretic, fit to be conſigned to Satan, and deſtroyed by men. So far had theſe enemies to the world gained the dominion of it with its property, and ſuch credit had the mockers of God obtained by boldly abuſing his name and word! What could be more ruinous, and had proved to be, than theſe Croiſades? Yet with what vehemence did the Clergy promote them, and how faſt and blindly did Kings and People run to deſtruction and ſhame at the cry and inſtigation of the Clergy, who had the craft and addreſs to throw all their works of zeal, all or the principal hazard and expence, upon the heads and pockets of others, and of making the Laity their dupes, property and drudges? Pere Daniel, the Jeſuit, in his late Hiſtory of France, is forced to own, that the Clergy there, after they had preached up a Croiſade with mighty eloquence and zeal, grum-

bled bitterly when they themſelves became taxed to carry it on. So rare, ſays he, it is to find any zeal that is perfectly diſintereſted! This is a very merciful reflection. The truth is, that their zeal was nothing but intereſt, or, at beſt, frenzy.

The Story of Saint Bernard is remarkable. He was engaged by the Pope to exert his credit and eloquence in raiſing a Croiſade. The warm Monk undertook it zealouſly, and laboured in it with ardour. Even miracles were ſaid to have been wrought in favour of his endeavours. He alledged a divine call, and authority divine for that expedition, and propheſied certain ſucceſs to the Chriſtians, certain deſtruction to the Turks. Upon ſuch aſſurances from Heaven, uttered by one of its Embaſſadors, who ſounded the Lord's trumpet to war, all men ran to enliſt themſelves, and whole Cities and Villages were left deſart. A mighty army paſſed into Aſia, moſt of that mighty army periſhed: The whole expedition was fatal, and God's Providence gave the lye notoriouſly to the promiſes of his Embaſſador, who yet kept himſelf in countenance by a pitiful ſubterfuge; 'That 'theſe forces miſcarried for their ſins.' Why did he not foreſee theſe ſins, he who pretended to divine light and prophecy? He had boldly promiſed ſucceſs without exception or reſerve; and the excuſe which he made will equally ſerve any quack-prophet that ever appeared or ever can appear in the world.

Beſides the loſs of men, which was often ſuch as left the countries that furniſhed them little elſe but Widows and Orphans; (for the Monks who remained in ſafety at home, were to be accounted, not members, but moths of human Society) beſides the waſte of Treaſure, then very ſcarce in Chriſtendom; the Adminiſtration of Government was every where neglected or abuſed in the abſence of the Governors,

Governors, men, who can never fail of finding buſineſs enough at home, if they will conſcientiouſly perform it. Kings too were ſometimes taken priſoners, and for ranſoming them, almoſt all the money which remained in their poor Countries, always made poor by theſe pernicious enterprizes, muſt be amaſſed and carried away to enrich their enemies.

We now ſee clearly the folly and miſchief of theſe wild adventures; we diſcern (in this inſtance at leaſt) the danger of credulity, the peſtilent influence of deluſion. They who were under it perceived it not, and we wonder at their blindneſs. Succeeding generations will perhaps be finding cauſe, though I hope not equal cauſe, of wondering at us, though they too may have their follies, but perchance not the ſame follies.

DISCOURSE VII.

Of MINISTERS.

Sect. I. The choice of Miniſters how much it imports Prince and People. Of what ſad conſequence to both, when bad. The bad only ſerve themſelves, not their Maſter.

PRINCES cannot do all themſelves, and muſt therefore appoint ſuch as they can truſt to act for them and in their name, men who are to apprize them of what is proper for them to know, to adviſe them what is fit for them to do. Theſe

are their Miniſters and Counſellors, and upon the raſh or prudent choice of theſe, the credit and eaſe, or diſhonour and danger of a Prince, as well as the ſafety, or ill uſage of his People largely depends. As wiſe Princes chuſe ſuch as are like themſelves, ſo do Princes who are weak or vicious. Nero's Favourite was Tigellinus, Queen Elizabeth had a Walſingham, Trajan a Pliny, Henry the fourth of France a Duke de Sully.

In a free Country, a Prince has a great advantage and aſſiſtance in chuſing his Miniſters, for if his intentions be righteous, if he mean to maintain the Conſtitution of the Laws, he will of courſe appoint men of name and ability: And this he may do without much ability of his own: He need only attend to the unbiaſſed humour and opinion of the Repreſentatives of the People, and he cannot fail of being furniſhed with the ableſt men. Whenever you want to chuſe, you are, by the general conſent, directed to the perſon worthy to be choſen, ſaid Galba to Piſo. Not unlike this is the obſervation of Helvidius Priſcus, when an Embaſſy of Senators were about to be ſent to Veſpaſian. Helvidius propoſed, that they ſhould be nominated by the Magiſtrates; for that by the judgment of the Senate thus manifeſted, the Prince would be, as it were, adviſed and warned, whom to fear and ſhun, whom to countenance and approve. He adds, that no greater ſupport was there of a righteous reign, than righteous Miniſters about the perſon reigning. If indeed a Prince aim at overturning the Conſtitution and ſetting his Power above the Law, he will find out tools proper for the wicked work, creatures of mere will, of deſperate fortunes or deſigns, dreaded or contemned, ſelfiſh, enterprizing, or fool-hardy, ſuch as will humour him, ſuch as muſt depend upon him. But a Prince who

ſtudies

ſtudies public good, will like men who are public-ſpirited. Such as are known to love their Country and its Laws, can never be unacceptable to one who has no views but to preſerve both.

Whilſt Nero was guided by the counſels of Seneca and Burrus, great hopes were conceived of his Government, becauſe they were known to be worthy and able men. The Plan of his Reign conceived by them, and by him exhibited in his firſt ſpeech to the Senate, was very juſt and fine. 'He claimed not the judgment and deciſion of affairs, nor would allow the ſhutting up thoſe who 'were accuſed in the ſame houſe with their accuſers, and by it ſuſtain the impotent Tyranny 'of a few. Nothing ſhould be ſaleable within his 'walls, nor any acceſs there to the crooked plots 'and attempts of ambition. Between his Family 'and the Republick a juſt diſtinction ſhould be 'maintained. The Senate ſhould uphold her ancient juriſdiction. Italy and all thoſe provinces, 'which depended by allotment upon the People, 'ſhould apply only to the Tribunal of the Conſuls, 'and by them procure acceſs to the Fathers. To 'himſelf he reſerved, what was eſpecially committed to his truſt, the direction of the Armies.' Tacitus adds, that theſe declarations of his wanted not ſincerity, and by the Senate many regulations were made, agreeable to their own good liking. For ſome years his Government continued very good, at leaſt very plauſible, and, as far as they conducted it, was unexceptionable, nay, reckoned a pattern to the beſt Princes, as the reſt of it cannot be exceeded by the worſt.

But when Burrus and Seneca were dead, or their credit with Nero decayed, it was eaſily foreſeen at what he aimed, and that he would break out into all the outrages of a Tyrant, eſpecially when it was ſeen who held the chief ſway about

him. Seneca and Burrus were therefore ſorely lamented, the more for that Tigellinus ſucceeded. As he had ſhewn himſelf unworthy of ſuch a Miniſtry, he now found a Miniſter worthy of ſuch a Prince, who promoted him only for his infamy and vileneſs. And as they had taken all care to form him to virtue and good government, it was the buſineſs and purſuit of his preſent director to draw him headlong into a courſe of abominations and cruelty. Infinite enormities he cauſed him to commit; many he committed of his own head, unknown to his Maſter. They were well matched, or rather very ill: Nero promoted him becauſe he was a polluted and miſchievous man; and he improved Nero into a moſt peſtilent Tyrant, ſuch a Tyrant as committed a power of tyrannizing even to his manumiſed ſlaves. Helius was one of them, and to his governance and diſpoſal the Emperor ſurrendered the people of Rome and thoſe of all Italy, with a ſway ſo abſolute and dreadful, that, without once conſulting his Maſter, he ſentenced Roman Knights, nay, Senators, to what puniſhments or penalties he liſted, ſome to exile, ſome to death, many to confiſcations. By the breath of this arbitrary and potent Slave capital doom was pronounced againſt one of the moſt illuſtrious Grandees of Rome, Sulpitius Camerinus, as alſo againſt his ſon; and both were doomed to die, for no ſort of crime, or other reaſon, ſave that they uſed the additional name of Pythicus, a name derived to them from their anceſtors. The juſt Judge charged this as impiety againſt the Emperor, who had acquired that title by his victories in the Pythian Games. If the Freedman were thus mighty, what muſt be the firſt Miniſter, and one in ſuch high favour?

Tigellinus at laſt acted as became ſuch a Miniſter to ſuch a Prince, proved a Traitor to his maſter,

maſter, whom he had made a traitor to his truſt, brought all men to abhor him, then deſerted him. What other could be expected from him? Was it likely that he who was a villain to almoſt all the world, could be faithful to any man in it? It was but natural that a man who had acted ſo many villainies for him, or in his name, ſhould act one againſt him, and ſave his own life at the expence of his Maſter's. Purely for his own ſake, only directed to his own ends, had been all the efforts of his Miniſtry, and what Nero vainly thought to be the effects of duty and fidelity, reſulted from treachery and ſelfiſh views. He meant nothing but the gratification of his own brutal ſpirit, and the aggrandizing of himſelf, purpoſes which could not be accompliſhed but by the favour and authority of Nero. He therefore did not ſerve Nero; he only humoured and deceived him, as does every Miniſter every Prince when he encourages him in evil courſes, or purſues them in his name.

Sect. II. A ſure rule for a Prince to know when he is adviſed faithfully. The duty of a Miniſter to warn Princes with freedom. The intereſt of Princes to hear a Miniſter patiently. Few will tell them truth, when telling it is offenſive. A wiſe Prince will encourage it.

HERE therefore is a rule for a Prince to judge of the fidelity of his Miniſters, by conſidering whether their counſel be good or evil: If it be unjuſt, or cruel, or unpopular, though it may be pleaſing, it is certainly faithleſs. No Prince is adviſed well, who is not adviſed honeſtly, and who-

ſoever ſerves him wickedly, ſerves him falſly; ſince no ſervice is due to him, none ought to be done for him, and none will profit him, but what is righteous and honourable. All the actions of a Prince, all his purſuits ſhould tend to glory and popularity, and from juſt actions alone all genuine glory ariſes. Ageſilaus King of Sparta ſaid well, when the neceſſity was urged of complying with the *Great King*, a title always given to the Monarch of Perſia, 'The Great King is not greater 'than I, unleſs he be juſter.' Plutarch, who mentions this, add, that he thus ſettled the true, the Royal Standard of Greatneſs, which is to be eſtimated by Juſtice, not by Force. What glory can follow wickedneſs in any ſhape, however diſguiſed by art, or new named by flattery?

From the Governors of men nothing ſhould be found but what is for the good of men; when that good is not purſued, but evil felt inſtead of good, the Governors are deemed infamous, becauſe by them Government is perverted. When the ſword given for protection, is turned upon the givers, and, inſtead of protecting, ſlays, he who wields it will be accounted unworthy to hold it. This is what all wiſe Princes know, what ſuch as know it not ſhould be told, and what honeſt Miniſters will always tell. What elſe is the uſe of Counſel and of Counſellors? It is betraying a Prince to ſuffer him to do evil unwarned; how much worſe to lead him into it? He will certainly ſuffer for it at laſt. Danger naturally accompanies wicked actions, eſpecially wicked actions that affect the State. One danger ſurely attends ſuch actions, the danger of infamy, of all others the greateſt, ſuch as a Prince ought to dread more than death. Now what is due to men who train and ſooth a Prince into the worſt, the moſt ſhocking doom that can befal him, that

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of being odious to the prefent and all fucceeding generations? For the infamy of Princes is ever as immortal as their glory, perhaps more, as men are apter to reproach than to praife. Thus Nero is oftener mentioned than Titus, Caligula than Trajan.

Hence it imports a Prince to be patient of counfel, to court information, and prize men who tell him truth, to hate flatterers who always conceal or difguife it, and to fubmit his own opinion and purfuits to be examined, canvaffed, and even contradicted. If he be peevifh and imperious, wedded to his own fentiments, hate free fpeech, and difcourage fuch as ufe it, he muft expect, that his fervants will utterly neglect their duty, when it is thus dangerous or fruitlefs to do it. When it becomes fafer to deceive him than to counfel him, few or none will be apt to counfel him, many will be ready to deceive him: all his meafures will be extolled, the worft perhaps moft of all, becaufe they want it moft, and he may be fondeft of the fooliheft. Many reafons will be found to fupport that which is moft againft reafon, and he may go on with great eafe, becaufe free from contradiction, boldly, becaufe blindly, and meet ruin with applaufe. Perhaps he will feel the blow before he knows it to be coming, and, juft at the approach of death, learn that he has a difeafe. Too many are apt to flatter wantonly, but almoft all men will flatter when they are forced to it. Few men in the world will venture a Prince's difpleafure, fewer their employments, and fcarce any their lives, to tell him uncourtly truths. When Nero had thrown off all fhame and reftraints, was already debafing his dignity in the face of the world, and engaged in harping and in finging-matches upon the public Stage, it was no longer poffible or fafe to admonifh him of the ruinous courfe which he followed. So

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that what his worſt ſycophants encouraged, his beſt friends ſeemed to approve. Even Burrus joined in applauding him whilſt his heart ached for him. He proceeded in his ſcandalous purſuits with ſuch ardour as to deſtroy whomever he found to diſlike them, hoping for applauſe from all men, not for Reigning but for *Acting:* The Theatre was his ſcene of glory, and in theatrical diverſions he was engaged when he received news of the conſpiracy formed to deprive him of empire and life. He was undone before any one was found bold enough to tell him, that he was undoing himſelf.

Exceeding ſingular and hardly ever to be expected is ſuch reſolute honeſty as an Emperor of China once found in his Mandarins. He had given himſelf over to acts of Tyranny, and was proceeding in them. His Miniſters modeſtly but truly repreſented to him the enormity and evil tendency of his conduct. He immediately cauſed theſe Miniſters to be executed: Others made the ſame repreſentations, and had the ſame fate. In the next the like ſtiffneſs and integrity was ſtill found, and againſt them too the like bloody ſentence pronounced. Yet more remained to bear a teſtimony equally virtuous and daring. By this their perſeverance, ſo ſteddy and undaunted, his ſtubbornneſs was overcome, he relented, and, yielding to conviction, changed his courſe of reigning.

Virtue ſo diſintereſted, ſo heroic, is ſeldom ſeen. In the beginning of the civil wars in France, during the minority of the late King, when all things were running into confuſion, a preſent remedy wanted, and a Council called to find one, out of ſeven or eight Counſellors who compoſed it, not one was found who ſpoke as he thought, for fear of offending the Queen Regent; inſomuch that, as the ſure way to pleaſe her, all ſtudied to deceive her. Fear is not wont to ſpeak truth. When per-

fect ſincerity is expected, perfect freedom muſt be allowed; nor has one who is apt to be angry when he hears truth, any cauſe to wonder that he does not hear it. A Prince of temper and ſenſe, one who has patience to hear, and capacity to diſtinguiſh, need ſeldom be deceived. Queen Elizabeth, Trajan, and Henry the fourth of France not only encouraged freedom in their Miniſters, and took advice in Council, but abroad and from all men.

De Roſni, the great Confident of Henry the fourth, uſed to treat him with ſo much plainneſs, nay, ſometimes with ſuch roughneſs, as none but a very wiſe King, who knew his value, and the uſe of plain ſpeaking, would have borne. A fooliſh Prince (and ſuch are always proudeſt) would have baniſhed him for ever, perhaps done worſe. That great Prince found cauſe to conſult others beſides his Miniſters, when enquiring how to eaſe his People oppreſſed by the Farmers of the Revenue, he learnt that ſome of his Privy Council were ſo mean to be Penſioners to theſe rapacious Farmers, had ſhare of their wicked gains, and thence ſupported them in all their rapine and oppreſſions. He diſcovered too, that all tricks and artifices were uſed to keep him from knowing the ſtate of his Revenue, and the accounts perplexed on purpoſe to make it impoſſible, at leaſt extremely difficult and tedious.

Sect. III. Miniſters to be narrowly obſerved, as well as heard. They ſometimes combine to nouriſh corruption and blind the Prince. How nearly it concerns him that all about him be uncorrupt.

HENRY the Great took the advice of his Miniſters, as alſo care not to be miſled by their advice: When Miron, Lieutenant-civil, and Provoſt of the Merchants, eſpouſed the intereſt of the People whoſe property in the rents of the Townhouſe of Paris the Court was about to ſeize, the Courtiers preſſed to have him doomed to ſome terrible puniſhment, as an Incendiary; nay, as a Blaſphemer, becauſe in his remonſtrances to the King, he uttered ſome uncourtly truths, ſuch as, though they touched not the King, fell heavily upon ſome of his Counſellors. This they called flying in the King's face, and would have had him vindicate their honour as his own; nay, their honour at the price of his juſtice. He was too worthy and wiſe to hearken to them.

A wiſe Prince will profit as well by watching his ſervants, as by conſulting them. Henry the Great ſaw in how many channels they had cauſed corruption to flow, nor could he with all his vigour and underſtanding ſtop all, nor even cleanſe the ſeats of Juſtice. Of old the order taken in that Kingdom for ſupplying the Tribunals worthily, was very good, by directing a Regiſter to be kept of all the able Advocates and Lawyers. Out of theſe, upon a vacancy, three were preſented to the King, for him to chuſe one. But the Courtiers had adviſed the King to ſlight all ſuch repreſentations, as reſtraints upon Royalty, and to chuſe one of his own mere will and finding. Thus it fell into

into the hands of the Courtiers to recommend, and they always recommended him that gave moſt. Hence baſe fellows filled the Courts, ignorance poſſeſſed and polluted the ſacred ſeats of Juſtice, and theſe ſcandalous dealers, who had found money more regarded than virtue and ſufficiency, were ſeen to value Law and Righteouſneſs leſs than Money. Of this venality of places Thuanus juſtly complains, in the dedication of his excellent Hiſtory to that King. Yet this evil, this eſtabliſhment of corruption has been found ſcarce capable of a cure even by ſuch Princes and Miniſters as had the cure of it at heart.

Indeed all corruptions creep eaſily in, but are with great difficulty removed. In time they even grow faſhionable; and then no man is aſhamed of being in the mode; ſo that the greateſt infamy upon earth ceaſes to be infamous when grown common, as every iniquity countenanced at Court will grow. When the ſhame of being vicious is baniſhed, vice becomes eſtabliſhed; nay, virtue will then be thought ſingularity and ſourneſs, and be treated with coldneſs and contempt. So much it imports a Country, ſo much it imports a Prince who values common honeſty, his own reputation, and the intereſt of his Country, that all about him have clean hands. It is not enough that his Miniſters and great officers be untainted and above the mean traffic of ſelling places: None that are near him, or approach his perſon ſhould be ſuffered to dabble in that vile commerce. The diſgrace and the danger will at laſt reach him, and when places are baſely filled, when honours are unworthily beſtowed, he will bear, at leaſt, ſhare of the blame. He ſhould conſider ſuch infamous traders as Vulturs, that prey upon the very vitals of Sovereignty, the credit of the Sovereign, as creatures obſcene

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that contaminate his Court, injure and provoke his People, alienate their affections, and dishonour his reign. When such venality prevails, it will certainly be known, as certainly create disgusts, soon spread to general murmuring. Some will be provoked because it immediately hurts them, others will resent it as it affects the Public, and all will dislike it as it is base. It may indeed happen that the man who has favour for money, may deserve it without money, and then it is hard upon him to pay for what he merits: But generally speaking, the worst men rise when money is the way of rising. However that be, the thing itself is dishonourable and unpopular: and what hath a Prince more to fear than unpopularity and dishonour?

Let a Prince, the ablest Prince, take what care he pleases, he will still be in danger to be misled, if those in his confidence have an interest to mislead him. Vespasian, who at first intended no oppression, was by evil counsel brought to commit many. Queen Elizabeth confessed to her Parliament with regret, that she had been over-reached, her power abused, and enormities committed under her name. Edward the third suffered his reign, one of the most glorious that history can shew, to be stained by the Ministry of a Mistress, a rapacious Woman, who had a shameful sway over him and his affairs. The Prerogative, which in the hands of a good Prince is a rod of Gold, when exerted by evil instruments under him, becomes a rod of Iron; as I have seen it somewhere observed.

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Sect. IV. What selfish ends the Counsellors of Princes sometimes pursue, yet pretend public good. They gratify private passion to the ruin of the State. What a reproach to a Prince the corruption of his Servants.

HENRY the Great, after gaining the Battle of Ivry, might, according to the general opinion, have had the City of Paris surrendered to him, had he immediately advanced thither. That he did not was ascribed to the artifices of his Ministers agreeing to dissuade him from it upon different motives of their own. The Marshal de Biron was thought to dread Peace, for that by it his own great importance would have been lost or lessened. Monsieur D' O, Superintendent of the Finances, was believed to aim at the sacking of Paris, that thence the King's treasures might be filled, and his debts cancelled. Others imagined that the Hugonot Ministers retarded him, from a jealousy of an accommodation with the Catholics of Paris about matters of Religion. The several conjectures are reasonable, that, particularly, concerning the Marshal de Biron, who was so fond of continuing the war, that he would not suffer his son to seize the General of the League, when he proposed it and had it in his power. 'How, says the Marshal, 'wouldst thou send us back to plant cabbages at 'Biron?'

The Marquis de Louvois, Minister to the late French King, acted from the same principle, and by it influenced his Master. He was eternally contriving to keep the King and his Kingdom involved in wars, because he himself was Secretary at War, and

and during war found that he was of moſt conſideration. As further proofs of the power and prevalence of private ſpirit in public concerns in the minority of that King, the Dutcheſs de Longueville inſtigated the civil war with all her might, purely to avoid living with her huſband the Duke, whom ſhe had provoked with her conduct. The Duke de Nemours did what he could to promote it, on purpoſe to ſeparate the Prince of Conde from the Dutcheſs of Chatillon, a Lady whom they both loved. The Queen Regent ſtudied not to prevent a civil war, ſince it might bring back her dear fugitive Cardinal. Katherine de Medicis was continually ſtirring up Commotions, conſpiracies, and even civil wars, even againſt her own ſon Henry the third, with deſign to ſecure power to herſelf. She ſucceeded too well: She exhauſted that noble Country, oppreſſed the Subjects, deſtroyed Liberty and Laws, to promote deſolation, licentiouſneſs and the conſuming ſword. Was this Wretch, this Peſt of Society, the Parent of her Country? As the moſt comprehenſive calamity that could befal a Nation, ſhe kept it always divided, always engaged in war and blood. When the People, wearied and weakened with long ſtrife and ſlaughter, had procured peace and a breathing-time, ſhe never ceaſed her wicked machinations, until ſhe had broke it again, and, in ſpight of Treaties and public miſery, ſet their blood a running. Moreover, to drive all virtue out of a country, from which ſhe had already driven all ſecurity and concord, ſhe carefully promoted all ſorts of debauchery, and amidſt the pangs and calamities of the State, encouraged every exceſs of voluptuouſneſs and revelling. Nay, to gain and corrupt the Grandees with the faireſt and moſt bewitching baits, ſhe kept her Court repleniſhed with fair Ladies well trained and fit to cajole Malecontents, and to ſoften Heroes.

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Thoſe whom nothing elſe could influence, this did. By what name can we call theſe politics, this trade of hers?

Many public deſigns, however admired and intereſting, are ſacrificed to private ends and perſonal piques. The Duke de Mayenne, that zealous Catholic, General of the League, the mortal enemy to Hereſy and Henry the fourth, poſtponed all his zeal for Religion, all regard for the League, all his hate of Heretics, to the ſole fear that his nephew the Duke of Guiſe would be declared King and ſet above him. Upon this apprehenſion he made a truce with Henry the fourth.

It is happy for Princes when their intereſt and that of their Miniſters are the ſame; happy for the Public when both combine to promote the common good. But when ſuch as conduct the Adminiſtration are drawn away by low purſuits and gains of their own, the Prince's reputation will be blotted, the public intereſt at beſt neglected, often marred or ruined. There are inſtances where a general war has been riſked, rather than a few Courtiers would part with ſome private bribes and gettings, even from ſcandalous Villains and Banditti.

The Uſcoques, who were a neſt of fugitives ſettled at Segna upon the Frontiers of Hungary, and there protected by the Houſe of Auſtria, as a band of deſperate fellows proper to repulſe the encroachments and inſults of the bordering Turks, became themſelves Freebooters upon all Nations, and thence cauſed univerſal complaints from the neighbouring States, eſpecially from that of Venice; and repeated applications were made to the Imperial Court for redreſs. This courſe of rapine, and conſequently theſe complaints and expoſtulations, went on for many years. The Uſcoques ſtill robbed, the foreign Miniſters ſtill complained,

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no effectual redress was obtained, and therefore a War was threatened. Behold the true reason of all this. When the Merchants and Traders, despoiled by this band of Thieves, went to the Imperial Court to represent their losses, and to beg relief, they saw their Jewels and Brocades upon the Wives of the Imperial Ministers.

This was a hopeful confederacy and commerce between great Ministers of State and a Den of Robbers. It was thus they were protected in robbing: They, indeed, paid so high for this protection, that though they had made infinite spoil, and acquired great wealth, they were still beggars, for they were suffered to keep none. One old Uscoque had in his time acquired by plunder to the value of eighty thousand Crowns, yet perished for want. The Robbers at Court seem to have been the more rigorous sort of the two, for they left nothing: Surely they were the most infamous.

What a scandal upon the Imperial Court, to be thus bribed by a nest of Rogues and Outlaws, to suffer such depredations upon the innocent, to have such vile spirits at the helm of the State, and, for the sordid lucre of particulars, to venture a war in Europe. Much more honourable were the grounds which engaged Alonso the ninth, King of Leon, in a war against another Prince, his kinsman, for that the latter owed him ten thousand *Maravedis*, about seven pounds ten shillings of our money. Upon the payment of that sum Don Alonso promised to make peace.

I think it is boasted of the Austrian Family, as a proof of their innate generosity and clemency, that in the space of three hundred years, they never punished any of their Ministers, their worst Ministers, with death or confiscation. So safe were those who maintained this honourable alliance with

with the Uſcoques. This character of that Auguſt Houſe, reminds me of what was ſaid of Charilaus, a King of Sparta, remarkable for extreme gentleneſs, 'that he was ſo gracious as to be very good 'to the very worſt of men.'

Sect. V. Under a Prince ſubject to be blindly managed, a change of Miniſters rarely mends the Adminiſtration. He often hates his Miniſters, yet ſtill employs them. Miniſters moſt in danger where the Prince has moſt Power.

IT is a heavy misfortune to a country, when a Prince is ſubject to the management and deſigns of whomſoever he happens to have about him; for then the change of perſons rarely mends the condition of his country or his own condition. Lewis the fourteenth was weary of the imperious humour of Madam de Monteſpan, and apprized that many of her demands were unreaſonable and inſolent; yet could refuſe her nothing when face to face. So manageable was that great Monarch by thoſe who had once got poſſeſſion of him, Miniſters or Miſtreſſes, that even Mademoiſelle Fontange, a ſtupid idiot, but very handſome, domineered over him. He generally hated his Miniſters, and almoſt always feared them, wanted to get rid of them, but was afraid to diſcharge them. In order to remove Fouquet, Superintendent of the Finances, he uſed the moſt remote pretences, diſguiſed his intentions, made feints, took a long journey, drew an army together, and made ſuch mighty movements, as if ſome great war had been on foot. Yet Fouquet was at all times in his power, nor does there appear any other cauſe for

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so many precautions, and such a grand apparatus, but his own extreme timidity and causeless fear. He could not abide Louvois his first Minister, who had long managed him: The like aversion he bore to Seignelay and la Feuillade, two other of his Ministers: Insomuch that when he had taken Mons, he reckoned it amongst the other felicities of the year, that he was relieved for ever from these three great Officers. He had been weakly subject to them, then as weakly afraid of them. Had it not been for the King's dread or hatred, or that of some superior Favourite, it was thought that Louvois might have lived to have been an older man.

What signifies the change of Ministers, without changing measures? What, when they who succeed are permitted to be as bad as their predecessors? Let a Prince hate a Minister ever so much, or dread him, or destroy him; all this avails neither him nor the State, if the Administration be not mended. Without this any alteration or punishment is folly or mockery. It is the grimace of Justice, like that in Turkey, where the Grand Seignior frequently cuts off a wicked and rapacious Bashaw, but never returns any of his rapine. He ought to correct or prevent foul dealings, to discountenance such of his servants as commit them, and to protect and encourage such as commit none against all clamour and malevolence; for clamours and malevolence there will be against Ministers the most virtuous and irreproachable, as long as there are Ministers or Men.

Ministers are only safe there, where the standing fence of impartial Laws will be able to protect their innocence, when in spight of innocence the People think them guilty, and the Prince through pique or policy would punish them as such. The People may be misinformed, and often are, and

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paſſion may miſguide the Prince. But the Laws are never angry, at leaſt with the guiltleſs, and judge not but according to truth and evidence. There, as they cannot act by the mere command of the Prince, ſo neither can they ſuffer by his mere will. In arbitrary countries the Prince muſt ſometimes deſtroy good Miniſters, becauſe it is known that he can; and to an enraged populace or ſoldiery he has no room to plead his inability. His overgrown power is a curſe upon himſelf as well as upon his ſervants, and by having too much he has none, or worſe than none, none to protect and ſave, which is the office of a Governor and a Father; but only to kill and deſtroy, which is the work of an enemy and an executioner. Such a power is but the worſt part of bondage, bondage to him, bondage to them, to be doomed to act, not to chuſe it, doomed to the moſt terrible of all ſlavery, that of deſtroying, or being deſtroyed. This has been often the ſituation of the greateſt Monarchs upon earth. It was that of Otho. In Otho, ſays Tacitus, authority ſufficient was not found to prohibit acts of violence; it was hitherto only in his power to ordain them to be done. It was that of Vitellius. To him, ſays the ſame Author, no power remained either to command or to forbid; nor was he any longer Emperor, but only the cauſe of war. And it was that of many of their ſucceſſors. In Turkey it is common. Who can ſecurely ſerve ſuch Princes? They can put you to death if you do not obey their commands, however unjuſt they be, and cannot defend you when you do, nor ſave you, however innocent you are.

Sect. VI. Miniſters truſted without controul, ſometimes threatening and perillous to a Prince. How fatal this often to themſelves, and to the State.

EVEN Princes of parts, and naturally jealous, are ſometimes ſubject to a fondneſs for Favourites, even to folly and their own danger, apt to heap ſo much grandeur upon them as to have none left for themſelves; and when nothing of Sovereignty remains but the name, that too will ſoon follow, unleſs ſome chance or ſtratagem intervene to ſecure it, and redeem the whole. Tiberius, the darkeſt and moſt ſuſpicious Prince upon earth, was yet open to Sejanus without reſerve, truſted him without bounds. To this Idol every thing was made to bend, all knees to bow, and many noble lives ſacrificed. By his power and artifices he deſtroyed moſt of the Imperial Family; nay, effected the ſame by the co-operation of Tiberius, whoſe paſſions he guided and enflamed. In all public honours done to Tiberius, Sejanus was included, and ſhared in them with the Emperor at the Emperor's deſire, at Rome, in the Senate, over the Provinces. In the City he had more Statues erected than the Year has Days. Men every where ſwore by the Fortune of Sejanus, with the ſame ſolemnity as by that of the Prince, nor was the name of the Prince found oftener in the laſt Wills of the Romans than the name of Sejanus. To him, in his abſence, Embaſſadors were ſent with the ſame form as to the Prince, Embaſſadors from the People of Rome, Embaſſadors from the Equeſtrian Order; nay, Embaſſadors from the Roman Senate. His birth-day was celebrated publicly, by a decree of Senate, as well as that of the Prince. For his health

health public vows were paid every return of the new year, as for the health of the Emperor.

What elſe was all this, but to inveſt Sejanus with Sovereignty, by paying him all the honours due to a Sovereign? Though all diſcerning men ſaw the conſequence, ſaw his purſuits, and whither they tended, no man durſt inform or warn the Emperor, becauſe by it he muſt have expoſed his own life; ſo capricious was the Prince, ſo powerful his Minion. No wonder his intelligence was late, and that his information and deſpair came together. Sejanus ſwayed the State at the head of the ſoldiery, who were Maſters of the State, and had in their hands the making and unmaking of Emperors: So that no more remained to be done to accompliſh a revolution, but juſt to change names, Sejanus for Tiberius, the latter long ſince impriſoned in an Iſland, the former already governing the Empire, and adored by the Army. Nothing but the form ſeemed wanting, and that too was concerted, and the conſpiracy ſettled. Tiberius, at laſt, illuminated, by wonderful wiles and diſſimulation, and by the bold management and lies of Macro, eſcaped this peril. Yet it was nine months ere he could accompliſh the fall of this mighty Traitor, whoſe doom proved as deſtructive to the Roman State as had his flouriſhing Fortune.

No Tyranny was ever more ſignal than that of Tiberius both in raiſing that peſtilent Favourite, and in pulling him down. Whomſoever Sejanus diſliked, Tiberius deſtroyed, and by his favour or frowns all men proſpered or periſhed. The Roman World ſeemed the Patrimony of Sejanus. The Roman People were his vaſſals, the Grandees of Rome his dependents or victims, the Army his guards, the Emperor his ſhadow. But whatever miſchief he had done whilſt he lived, he did rather

more when dead. As before, all who were obnoxious to him, had been murdered, or beggared, or baniſhed; ſo now all who had eſpouſed him, and adhered to him, all who depended upon him, all who had favoured his fortune, or were ſuſpected to have favoured it, were doomed to the like inexorable cruelty, to dungeons, to halters and the bloody knife. Nay, progreſſive murders were too ſlow for the inhuman rage of Tiberius [a]. Men, Women and Children muſt be butchered in the lump, lie dead in heaps, and barbarity be exerciſed on their carcaſſes.

This general carnage is affectingly deſcribed in the ſixth Book of the Annals. 'His cruelty being 'but inflamed by inceſſant executions, all thoſe 'kept in priſon under accuſation of any attachment 'to Sejanus, were by his command put to the 'ſlaughter. Expoſed to the Sun lay the ſad mo'numents of the mighty butchery; thoſe of every 'ſex, of every age; the illuſtrious and the mean; 'their carcaſſes ignominiouſly thrown, apart or on 'heaps. Neither was it permitted to their ſurviv'ing friends or kindred, to approach them, to 'bewail them, nor even any longer to behold 'them. Round the dead guards were placed, who 'watched faces and marked the ſigns of ſorrow; 'and as the bodies putrified, ſaw them dragged to 'the Tyber, where they floated in the ſtream, or 'were driven upon the banks, no man daring to 'burn them, none to touch them. The force of 'fear had cut off the intercourſes of humanity: 'and in proportion to the growth of Tyranny, 'every ſymptom of commiſeration was baniſhed.' It was in court to Tiberius that moſt men courted Sejanus: For this, Tiberius deſtroyed them, as he

[a] Non jam per intervalla ac ſpiramenta temporum, ſed continuo et velut uno ictu Rempublicam exhauſit.

had

had before thoſe who did it not. If the crime was ſo great, the old Tyrant ſhould in juſtice have deſtroyed himſelf as the greateſt Criminal.

Sect. VII. The great miſchief of exalting Favourites beyond meaſure, eſpecially ſuch as command great Armies.

MUCH the like ſway had Plautianus under Severus, and much the like fate. He had enjoyed the ſame poſt, committed the ſame oppreſſions and exceſſes, and was put to death for having had the ſame treaſonable deſigns. No man's fortune eſcaped his claws, and by trick or violence he ſhared in the eſtates of all men: Many of the moſt conſiderable he put to death. No Nation eſcaped his extortions, no City was unpillaged. The Preſents made to him were larger and more frequent than thoſe to the Emperor, and he could boaſt more Statues erected to him, in Rome, in other Cities, by private men, by public ſocieties, and even by the Senate. The Senators and Soldiers ſwore by his Fortune, and for him made ſolemn vows. He commanded the guards, governed all things, did what he liſted. Indeed ſo giddy and wanton his boundleſs power had made him, that having invited to his houſe an hundred Romans of good Families, he cauſed them all to be caſtrated. Nor were they boys only whom he thus abuſed, but men grown, ſome of them married men; and all for no other cauſe than to increaſe the number of his daughter's Eunuchs. Dion Caſſius ſays, that he had ſeen ſome of theſe men, ſo ſuddenly made Eunuchs, Eunuchs who had children, wives and beards. To this daughter, whom he married to the Emperor's ſon, he gave a fortune large enough for the daughters of fifty Kings.

All this power was too mighty to last in the same shape; nor did it. He must either cease his greatness, to be greater, or perish. Rather than do the first, he ventured the last in order to the second. He attempted to cut off the Emperor, and was himself cut off. Fortune saved Severus, as it had Tiberius, and they kept their Diadem, when they had nigh lost it. So near sometimes is Treason to a Throne, and sometimes ascends it. Plautianus, in the midst of his hopes and grandeur, he who was first Minister to the Emperor, Father-in-law to the Emperor's son, and aiming himself at the Empire, was executed like a common malefactor, by the command of his daughter's husband, and his body thrown into the street. So strangely are the views of the greatest men baffled! This great match for his child, whence he hoped an accession of credit and might, hastened his tragical fall, and made it more tragical. With him too fell his family: His son, born, as once seemed, to wealth more than Royal, his daughter more than royally portioned and married, were banished to an island, where having for some time led a miserable life, destitute of common necessaries, struggling with many miseries, apprehending yet more and heavier, they were relieved by the hand of an executioner in the following reign.

Neither does it appear that Severus had in the least foreseen such a reverse in the Fortune of his great Favourite, and for want of such foresight, caused it. It was but the natural consequence of such a blind and unbounded trust. The temptation was too great, and what was at first ambition in Platianus, grew at last to be necessity. This Severus himself afterwards owned, lamented the weakness of human nature, which in elevated fortune knows no moderation, and blamed himself for having raised him so high that he grew giddy.

By

By the ruin too of Plautianus many were endangered, several suffered a bloody doom.

Where-ever there are great standing Armies, Revolutions are suddenly brought about, and therefore will be often attempted; for whoever has the Army, has or may have the State. Hence the danger of Tiberius, hence that of Severus, and hence the danger and sudden fate of many Princes in almost all ages, as well as encouragement to ambitious men to set up themselves by corrupting the soldiery, a task not over difficult. It was the fate of most of the Roman Emperors, as to be made by their Armies, so to be destroyed by their Armies.

DISCOURSE VIII.

The same subject continued.

Sect. I. Good Ministers often ruined and destroyed for their virtue by a combination of the bad. The spight and wicked arts of the latter. How ready to charge their own guilt upon the innocent.

IT is a matter of grief and concern, though not always of wonder, to see the best servants of a Prince often supp'anted, often undone by the worst, to see his truest friends depressed, and the most pernicious parasites triumph, to consider the vile lies and contemptible causes by which the bad undermine and undo the good. Junius Blæsus was one of the most illustrious Romans, of a princely Spirit, and his Fortune like his Race, very noble. He was Governor of Lionese Gaul, and espoused the cause of Vitellius early and cordially;

nay, bore at firſt all the expence of his Imperial State and Train; for ſuch was the poverty of Vitellius, that he could not as yet ſupport the ſame himſelf. For ſuch ſplendid inſtances of his zeal Vitellius returned him many open commendations, and much ſecret hatred.

A man of ſo much eſteem and merit the falſe and ſpiteful Courtiers could not bear. They bore him ſpecial enmity, for that, in a reputation glorious and popular, he ſo far ſurpaſſed themſelves contaminated with every ſort of infamy. A man ſo dangerous to the Tribe, by being ſo much better than they, and ſo much above them, muſt therefore be taken off, and as he was perfectly innocent, ſome fault muſt be forged, and the ſimple Emperor alarmed with the ſhadow of ſome terrible Treaſon. A terrible one indeed they found: Blæſus happened to ſup with a Friend, whilſt the Emperor happened to be out of order. This was aggravated to him, and this embittered him. Here was ground and encouragement enough to proceed to a direct charge; it was all that the plotters wanted, they who made it their buſineſs to dive with a curious eye into all the paſſions and diſguſts of the Prince. Inſtantly one of the body is diſpatched to impeach him. The Impeacher made a diſmal, a weeping harangue, how 'Blæſus was making merry, and 'the Emperor's life at ſtake, nor could aught ſe-'cure it but the death of ſuch an inſolent crimi-'nal.' The argument prevailed: The fooliſh Emperor ordered him to be poiſoned, and, as brutiſh as fooliſh, went full of glaring joy to ſee him in his agonies; nay, boaſted, that he had feaſted his eyes with the ſight of an enemy expiring.

This was the unworthy, the tragical end of Junius Blæſus, procured by the poiſonous tongues of traducers; a man venerable for the antiquity of his houſe, ſignal for elegance of manners, ſignal for uprightneſs

uprightneſs of heart; in his faith towards Vitellius obſtinately firm, free from all vice, from all ambition and intrigues, ſo far from coveting any haſty honour, much leſs ſovereignty, that he could hardly eſcape being judged worthy to be Sovereign. The truth is, he had been already tried by the Courtiers and falſe friends of Vitellius, and by them tempted to deſert him, but tempted in vain. This alone might prompt ſome of them to deſtroy him. It was what many ſuppoſed to have occaſioned the death of Fonteius Capito commander in Germany under Galba: Cornelius Aquinus, and Fabius Valens, two Colonels of Legions, inſtigated him to rebel, and upon his refuſal ſlew him, then charged him with Rebellion.

Sect. II. How hard it is for a good Miniſter to ſupport himſelf with a Prince ſurrounded by Sycophants and Seducers, or to preſerve him and his State. Their execrable Stratagems to execute their Malice. How ſuch ſometimes abuſe the Prince, miſlead him, diſtreſs him, and murder him.

AS no good Miniſter can be ſafe where ſuch miſchievous Minions prevail, ſo neither can a Prince nor his State. It is not the honour of the Prince, it is not the eaſe and benefit of the Country that they ſeek and conſider; it is only their own intereſt and advantage, and this they will purſue, though to the ruin of Prince or State. King James the fifth of Scotland had a fair opportunity of eſtabliſhing a laſting peace with England. Henry the eighth his Uncle, then at great variance with the Pope, the Emperor and Spain, willing to ſtrengthen himſelf at home, even deſirous to ſettle

the ſucceſſion upon his Nephew, courted him to an alliance; nay, to an interview and conference at York. Nothing could promiſe fairer for the advantage of Scotland, for many ages harraſſed and deſolated by wars with England, nothing prove more honourable and beneficial to the Scotch King than the entail of the Engliſh Crown and the ſupport of his Uncle. Henry the eighth had then only a daughter, Mary, and ſhe was declared illegitimate. King James therefore, by the advice of his Council, declared his acceptance of the propoſal; the Engliſh Embaſſadors returned highly ſatisfied, and highly pleaſed their Maſter, who made great preparations at York for the entertainment of his Nephew.

But the Scotch King had Minions about him of more prevalence with him than his Council, or his Honour or his Intereſt, if theſe two can be parted. To theſe Minions the Clergy apply, and with large bribes engage them to diſſuade the King from keeping his word. Some of the Minions too were Clergymen, and in the name of all laboured to debauch and deceive the King. They frightened and cheated him with the word *Hereſy*. And whatever offended the Clergy, be it man or thing, muſt ſurely be an enemy to God and the King, and conſequently very bad and terrible. They ſaid, it was grown up in England, and growing faſt in Scotland, and ſhewed him what notable profit would accrue to him from ſuppreſſing it, and enriching himſelf with the eſtates of ſuch as profeſſed, and of ſuch as favoured it. With this they gave him a liſt of their names, encouraging him to plunder and burn the beſt and richeſt of his ſubjects.

The King liſtened to the propoſal too greedily, and communicated it to the Laird of Grange his Treaſurer. This was an honeſt and bold Man, who

who freely shewed his Master the monstrous iniquity and mischief of such counsel, exposed the evil and rapacious hearts of the Bishops, their corrupt practices, unsufferable pride, ambitious designs, and ungodly lives, with their utter unfitness to be trusted in Council, or with any civil concerns; represented, how rashly and perniciously one of his Predecessors, King David, had stripped the Crown of its Patrimony to endow Bishopricks and Abbeys; whence his Majesty was now so poor, the Prelates so rich, so prodigal and assuming, that they strove to be Masters and Directors in all things. Thus he convinced the King, and recovered him to his first reasonable purpose of closing with England; insomuch that his Majesty, next time the Prelates approached him, fell upon them with great bitterness, for having endeavoured to mislead him into such cruelties against so many Noblemen and Barons, to the danger of his own Estate. 'Wherefore, said he, gave my Prede-'cessors so many lands and rents to the Kirk? 'Was it to maintain Hawks, Dogs and Whores 'to a number of idle Priests? The King of Eng-'land burns, the King of Denmark beheads you: 'I shall stick you with this Whingar.' Wherewith, says Sir James Melvil (from whom I quote these words) he drew out his dagger, and they fled from his presence in great fear.

He now fully resolved to keep his promise with his Uncle of England, as tending both to his advancement and honour. But his resolution held not. The Bishops were not easily baulked nor ashamed, nor wont to relax when interest, or dominion, or revenge was in view. Again they assail the Minions, particularly Oliver Sinclair, with store of gold, promised him high honours by their weight and procurement, especially the command of the Army against England, could he bring

his Maſter to violate his Faith, and break with his Uncle. Their next ſtep was to undo the Treaſurer, by defaming him to the King: 'He was 'proud, he was a Heretic (an imputation always 'powerful, however ſtale and fooliſh) he carried 'an Engliſh new Teſtament in his pouch; nay, 'he was ſo arrogant, that he would not procure 'Women for the King, nor proſtitute his Son's 'Wife to his Majeſty's Pleaſure.' For this was one article of the charge againſt him, and urged by a venerable Prelate. It was uſual for theſe Favourites to furniſh the young King with Women, married or unmarried, thus to preſerve their favour.

When the King vindicated his Miniſter, as a plain, frank Gentleman, whom he loved well, and to whom he begrudged no reward; the Prior of Pittenweem replied and ſaid, 'Sir, the heir (heireſs) 'of Kelly is a luſty fair Laſs, and I dare pledge 'my life, that if your Majeſty will ſend for her 'preſently, he ſhall refuſe to ſend her to you.' (The Lady was betrothed to the Treaſurer's Son.) A godly propoſal, and it took. The King ſigned an order for the Lady to be brought to him; nay, the Prelates and their Faction contrived that a brother Prelate, the Prior of Pittenweem, ſhould carry it, and return with the fair prize. The Treaſurer refuſed to comply, for good reaſons: amongſt others, the reverend Envoy was his known Enemy, and a known Debauchee. The Prior however who had gained the main point, rejoiced in the denial, and by it enraged the King, nay, from him a warrant was obtained to ſeize the Treaſurer, and commit him to the Caſtle of Edinburgh.

He was aware of their miſchievous devices, and haſtened to Court. The King lowered, nor would ſpeak to him. He boldly aſked his Majeſty, Why ſuch a change, ſo much diſpleaſure preſently after

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so much favour, and for what offence? The King replied, 'Why did thou refuse to send me the 'maiden whom I wrote for, and gave despiteful 'language to him I sent for her?' The Treasurer said, that he thought himself meetest to bring her, nor would he trust the Prior, as he knew him to be one infamous for rapes, a man the most notorious of any in Scotland for debauching of women, whether wives or virgins. Such failings, it seems, the holy man had, but was zealous for the Hierarchy against Heretics and his Country. 'Hast thou then 'brought the Gentlewoman with thee?' said the King. Yes, Sir, said the Treasurer. This softened him. 'Alas, saith the King, they have set 'out so many leasings against thee, that they have 'obtained of me a warrant to put thee in ward: 'But I shall mend it with a contrary order.'

The Treasurer answered with lamentation: 'My life, Sir, or warding is a small matter: but 'it breaks my heart, that the world should hear 'of your Majesty's facility.' For he had learnt, that in his absence they had made the King send to England to contradict his promise, and refuse to meet his Uncle. His lamentations availed not: The worst counsels had swayed him. The Prelates, and other Minions corrupted by them, and subservient to them, rule the King. Harry the eighth rages, vows to revenge so much scorn, and sends away an Army to lay Scotland desolate by fire and sword. The Scotch King too raises forces, but forces without heart, as in a cause undertaken for the pleasure of the Prelates against their Country. This damped their spirits, but what quite finished their dejection and despair was, to see Oliver Sinclair, a Minion and Hireling of the Prelates, declared General of the Army.

The Lords and principal Officers, through indignation that the Court and Country should be governed

governed by such vile instruments as the Bishops and their Creatures, refused to fight under such a worthless Commander; nay, suffered themselves to be all taken prisoners. The whole Army was overthrown, the Kingdom defenceless, and exposed to the ravages of a victorious enemy, and the poor King to anguish and disgrace. Against the Bishops all mouths were open, all men enraged, to see the Country perishing to satiate their fury and ambition: The King heard the general outcry, his eyes were opened, and, in the fulness of his heart, he dropped some expressions of resentment against his ghostly and execrable advisers; for which expressions they soon took severe vengeance.

Such men never retract, never forgive. The Realm was under the spoiling hand of Enemies and Invaders, the Army routed, the Nobility provoked, the People miserable and murmuring, the King distressed, and his Honour lost. Did all this soften the Bishops? No: to accomplish their malice and good services to the Public and their Sovereign, they murder him by poison. For, with their other politics and wholesome severities derived from Rome, they had learnt the art of making an *Italian Posset*, and with this, administered by some of their faithful villains about him, they shut up the days and reign of James the fifth, first deprived him of his Innocence, next of his honest Counsellors, then of his Peace and Honour, lastly of his Life.

Were not these notable Directors of a Monarch's power and conscience? Nay, even dying and dead they abused him, as well as they had whilst alive. One of them attending him at his death, dictated a Will for him, and what he himself caused to be written, when the poor King was expiring, he boldly declared to be the King's Will afterwards. To such an amazing power in wickedness and want of shame had the Clergy then grown by their enormous

mous increase of property. But they were popish Clergy: The Protestant sort thirst not after wealth, and where they have it, are too meek to become proud and abuse it, too conscientious to neglect the cure of souls, and live in luxury, too modest to haunt Courts, too disinterested and sincere to flatter Princes, too just and impartial to preach selfish doctrines tending to raise themselves by the purse, or subserviency, or sufferings of others.

Sect. III. Reflections upon the fate of King James the fifth of Scotland seduced and undone by Minions, who withdrew him from the direction of an honest Minister.

SUCH was the fate of James the fifth, a Prince of spirit and good qualities, but debauched, abused and undone by wicked and crafty Minions, Pandars and Seducers; such the dismal issue of false and unjust Counsels, of forsaking honest and worthy advisers, to follow the deceitful, the selfish and corrupt; and such ample ground had Sir James Melvil for saying as he does of Princes, especially of young Princes, and their favour to those who misguide and ruin them. 'They were carried away 'by the craft and envy of such as could subtilly 'creep into their favour, by flattery and by join-'ing together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, 'every one of them setting out the other, as meet-'est and ablest for the service of their Prince, to 'the wrack of him and his Country; craving the 'Prince to be secret, and not to communicate his 'secrets to any but their Society. Thus the Prince's 'good qualities being smothered by such a com-'pany, were commonly led after the passions and 'particularities of those, who shot only at their own 'marks: Some of them continually possessing his

'ear,

'ear, and debarring therefrom all honeſt, true and 'plain ſpeakers; ſo that no more hope could be 'left of a gracious Government, nor place for good 'men to help the Prince and Country, where-'through fell out many foul, ſtrange, and ſad acci-'dents, as may be afterwards ſeen and read: 'Princes miſuſed, and abuſed, their Country rob-'bed, their beſt and trueſt ſervants wracked, and 'the wicked inſtruments at laſt periſhed with all 'their high and fine pretences; others, ay, (al-'ways) ſuch-like, ſucceeding in their place, never 'one taking example to become more temperate 'and diſcreet, becauſe of the deſtruction of thoſe 'who went before them; but as highly and fierce-'ly following their greedy, vain and ambitious 'pretences, obtained the like tragical reward.'

He afterwards quotes the complaint made by Monſieur de Bouſſie, when left and diſliked by the Prince his Maſter. 'Alas, wherefore ſhould men 'be earneſt to ſurpaſs their neighbours in wor-'thineſs and fidelity, ſeeing that Princes, who get 'the fruits of our labours, like not to hear of 'plainneſs, but of pleaſant ſpeeches, and are eaſi-'ly altered without occaſion upon their trueſt Ser-'vants?'

Sect. IV. Where Flattery is encouraged, Flatterers rule, and ſincerity is baniſhed. Miniſters ſometimes fall not through guilt but faction; yet always accuſed of guilt.

WHEN a Prince will bear no Miniſter that tells him the truth, and only exalts thoſe who ſooth and flatter him, the beſt Flatterer is always ſure to be the firſt Miniſter, and his Maſter will be pleaſantly deceived inſtead of being faithfully and unacceptably ſerved. The Marquiſs de Vieville,

Vieville, Superintendent of the Finances to Lewis the thirteenth, gained his favour and preferment by extolling the King's ſpirit and conduct, in commanding his armies in perſon. Though that Prince had no ſufficiency in war, he liked to hear that he had, perhaps believed it; for what is more vain than power, what more credulous than vanity? At the ſame time his Chancellor de Sillery fell under diſpleaſure and loſt his employment, for blaming theſe military rambles. His Son too, Monſieur de Puyſieux, Secretary of State, was afterwards removed, on pretence, that the King could not truſt a Man who was doubtleſs ſoured by the diſgrace of his Father.

To the diſgrace of that Miniſter almoſt the whole band of Courtiers contributed, all from cauſes perſonal and diſtinct. The Queen-Mother hated him for his ſuperior credit with the King; Cardinal Richlieu, for having oppoſed his elevation to the Purple; the Prince of Conde, for forwarding a Peace with the Hugonots, whence his own credit was leſſened or loſt in the Army; the Count of Soiſſons for retarding his marriage with the King's Siſter; de Thoiras for diſcrediting him with the King; the Duke de Bellegarde for oppoſing the reſignation of his employment to a kinſman. Theſe were their true motives, though very oppoſite to thoſe that they avowed. They charged him with inſolence to the King, infidelity in his truſt, and corruption. Whatever faults he might have, his faults had no ſhare in his diſgrace.

Favour at Court is a brittle thing. That of Vieville, the Superintendent, had its period and declenſion. Though he had flattered the King and lyed for his honour, the King gave him up to the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of the Cardinal, a more terrible antagoniſt than the Monarch himſelf. Falling

ing Miniſters are always faulty, and muſt be: It would be prepoſterous and unjuſt to pull them down, yet own them innocent. Vieville was accuſed of many heavy crimes, 'with deciding great 'affairs of his own head; with altering the King's 'orders; with ſending directions to Embaſſadors, 'without communication with the King or Coun-'cil; with doing acts of injuſtice, and throwing 'the odium upon the King, and with gratifying 'his pride and paſſions at the expence of the King's 'honour.'

To the honour of that Miniſter it muſt be owned, that upon trial, all the uproar and pompous charges againſt him for malverſation and corruption in the Treaſury, appeared groundleſs. In truth, in all the efforts of faction and rivalſhip men do not ſtudy to puniſh Truth, but Reproach. The Cardinal wanted to ruin him. It is ſo probable that men in office may be guilty, that if ſuch guilt be but boldly charged, it will be readily believed. When the ſuſpicion is once well raiſed, it will hardly fail of being well received. This ſerves the turn, and proves a good warrant for diſgracing an innocent man once thought guilty. Indeed when prejudices ſubſide, and popular heat cools, it is probable his innocence will begin to appear and be credited; but firſt he is diſgraced or undone, and his Competitors already triumph, till perhaps they meet with the ſame meaſure from others.

The Eunuchs of Schah Huſſein falſly charged the firſt Miniſter behind his back with a conſpiracy, and produced a forged Letter to ſupport it. By that Letter it was to be executed in a few hours. The Emperor was frightened, and gave immediate orders to arreſt him. The Emperor conſidered the Eunuchs as his guardian angels, who by their vigilance had ſaved him, yet would needs be ſo juſt-

as

as to hear that great Man in his own defence. He defended himself gloriously, exposed their execrable fraud, and manifested his own innocence. But what signified his innocence, or the Emperor's conviction, for his eyes were put out? Of this the cruel villains had taken present care, that he might never stand in their way in the same post, or any post again.

Sect. V. A Minister may be disgraced for his Virtue, and Fidelity to his Prince. Mercenary Courtiers certain Enemies to upright Ministers. Justice done to both by time and history.

IN the reign of Richard the second, Sir Richard Scroope was promoted to be Lord Chancellor of England, a Person reckoned so accomplished and just, that he was raised to that Great Trust at the request of the Parliament, both Lords and Commons. He was indeed too just to hold it long. He would not serve the turn of the Favourites, and the Favourites would not let him serve the King and Kingdom. They had begged grants of diverse Lordships lately fallen to the Crown: But what the King had weakly granted, the Chancellor honestly refused to confirm. He alledged 'the King's wants and debts, with the 'necessity of satisfying his creditors; that no good 'Subject should prefer his own advantage to the 'King's interest, private luere to public good: 'Already they had received from his Majesty 'abundant Largesses; and it was but modest to 'ask no more.' This repulse fired them, and to the King they went with grievous accusations against the Chancellor: 'He was obstinate, he 'contemned his Majesty's Commands; he must 'suffer exemplary punishment for his disobedience

'and

'and scorn of the Royal Authority, which would 'otherwise fall into public contempt.'

This was enough to incense the undiscerning King, who sends in a fury to demand the Seal. Doubtless it was from pure tenderness for the King's Honour (whom they were cheating and robbing) and with no eye to any interest of their own, that they arraigned the Chancellor, and asserted the Prerogative. Nor is it to be imagined, that they did not represent him abroad in ugly colours, as proud and insolent, engrossing all favour to himself, injuring the King's best friends, nay, acting the part of a King himself. Nor were all these imputations more than what others had deserved, and therefore likely enough to be believed of the Chancellor, who was thus severely censured, thus ungratefully dismissed, for his uncommon faith and integrity.

The good Chancellor reaped one advantage of which neither Malice, nor Power, nor Time could deprive him. He is recorded in the History of his Country, as a glorious Magistrate, an upright Minister, a faithful Patriot: whilst his supplanters bear such a Character as they deserve, that of Sycophants, public Robbers, Enemies to King and People. Thus it is that virtue triumphs over vice, and for ever triumphs; this the immortal reward of men who faithfully serve their Country, who worthily discharge public Trust. The fruits of base actions perish; their infamy only is sure to remain. It is a dreadful lot, that of being hated to all following generations. How amiable is the contrary lot, to be beloved and praised whilst there are Men and Letters in the World? Such are the different and lasting lots of a *Chancellor* Jefferies, and a *Chancellor* Cowper.

DIS-

DISCOURSE IX.

Of the People.

Sect. I. The variable Character of the People: very good or very bad, according to their education and government. Hence the improvement or depravation of their manners.

CONCERNING the People it is scarce possible to lay down any general proposition. If we say, that they are greatly disposed to evil, it is true: If we assert, that they have a fund of goodness in them, it is true. They are cruel and merciful, constant and fickle, fond of their benefactors, ungrateful to their friends, very patient, very furious, unmanageable, and easy to be governed, greatly given to change, greatly afraid of it, apt to love extravagantly, apt to hate implacably. They are indeed just what they are made, formed by Habit and direction: They take the impressions that are given them, follow the opinions of such as lead them, the example of those who govern them, and are capable of being very virtuous and modest, very vitious and turbulent, according to the lessons and pattern of their Guides and Rulers.

Thus the Romans from a band of Robbers, became a civil Community, at first rough and rude, afterwards regular and sociable, then polite and elegant, always brave, fond of Liberty and Glory, impatient of Servitude. Such was their beginning, alteration, and improvement, still in proportion to the influence of their Leaders and Laws, fierce and warlike

warlike under Romulus becauſe he was ſo, tamed by Religion or Superſtition under Numa, addicted to civil oeconomy and regulations of State under Servius Tullius, who made ſuch inſtitutions his care; zealous Republicans under a republican Government; full of reverence for Arts and Learning when Arts and Learning came to be favoured and introduced by the Magiſtrates. Afterwards when they were corrupted by evil and ambitious men, they became extremely corrupt, and intirely changed by the change of their Government; and in order to make ſuch a change or to continue it, ſuch corruption was carefully promoted and perpetuated. Their ſpirit, their honeſty, and even their diſcernment were vitiated, ſunk and baniſhed, to qualify them for miſery and chains. Whilſt they had courage, integrity and eyes, uſurpation could not proſper nor vaſſalage be eſtabliſhed. Thenceforward the Roman people grew utterly debauched and ſpiritleſs; their Virtue, which roſe with their Government, fell with it, and they were as unlike what they had been, as Servitude is unlike Liberty.

Nor was ſuch a revolution of Manners peculiar to the Romans, but in all places will follow ſuch revolutions of State. It is not ſo much by the genius of the Clime, by the heat or coldneſs of a Country, that the characters of the inhabitants are to be known and eſtimated, as by the nature of their Government, and the wiſdom, or defect, or corruption of their Laws. It is thus that men from Savages and Banditti, become juſt and humane, or from virtuous and free, abject ſlaves and barbarians.

Attica, the Country of the Athenians, was over-run with violence, feuds, robbery and murders, until Theſeus reformed the Government, and by it civilized the People, who by virtue of their

Liberty

Liberty and Laws, afterwards corrected and improved by Solon, came to be the masters and standard of politeness and learning over the world. Thus Lycurgus reclaimed the licentiousness of the Spartans, and established such an institution, and such wise orders amongst them, that for courage, patriotism and every kind of virtue, they were the envy and wonder of all Nations. As the Liberty of these two famous Cities decayed, so did their Valour and Probity, and perished when that perished. They seemed afterwards another race of men, though their blood and climate were still the same. The Grecians, once Conquerors and Masters of universal Empire, are now spiritless Slaves, sunk in unmanly superstition, drunken, ignorant, barbarous.

The Nations in Peru lived nearer to the condition of beasts than that of men, till taught the Laws of Society by the *Inca*'s: For these Princes did not so much subdue them, as instruct and polish them. So that these Clans of Savages, many of them Canibals, dealing in human sacrifices, and practising abominations scarce credible, were brought by the mere force of good usage and good Laws, to be sociable, discreet and humane: They who were strangers to agriculture, they who went naked, were destitute of houses, lived upon rocks and hills, and knew not what it was to dress their food, dropped all their wildness, formed regular habitations, fell into present industry, cultivated the ground with care, and altogether grew a mighty People, sober, ingenious, orderly, and formed an Empire above two thousand miles in extent, an Empire which continued for eight hundred years happy and flourishing.

It is chiefly by education and the exercise of the understanding that some men come to surpass others; for

for by nature men are alike, all made of the same materials; nor greater difference is there between the Lord and the Slave than that which proceeds from chance or education. Many men great in title have the spirit of Slaves; many men mean in fortune have greatness of spirit: Many a Cicero has kept sheep, many a Cæsar followed the plough, many a Virgil foddered cattle. Government is public education, and as the national discipline is good or bad, Nations will be well nurtured, or ill. In all civilized Countries, the people are generally harmless and manageable, where they are not misled or oppressed. Oppression is apt to make a wise man mad, nay, the wiser he is the more he will feel the oppression, because he will the more readily discern it to be unjust: And when men are misled, they discern not justice from violence.

Sect. II. The People under good Government apt to be peaceable and grateful: often patient under Oppression: often moderate in opposing Oppressors: inclinable to Justice when not misled.

THE Roman Commonalty quarrelled not with the Nobility, until the Nobility insulted and oppressed them; nay, they bore it a good while without complaining, complained long before they proceeded to an insurrection, even their insurrections were without blood, and they grew calm and content upon every appearance of redress; for, their redress was seldom complete, and what was undertaken seldom made good. In the struggle, particularly about the Agrarian Law, a Law so necessary to the State, so necessary to preserve equality amongst

amongſt Citizens, without which they could not be long free, they were perpetually injured, diſappointed and abuſed. The Law was eternally violated, they eternally the ſufferers. Was it any wonder that a grievance ſo notorious and heavy, ſo much affecting the Public and the People, was felt and reſented by the People; any wonder that they contended for its removal, or, that when it was not removed, they had recourſe to violence to procure juſtice, and were guided by their Tribunes, who ſometimes, under the name of that Law and a colour of eſpouſing the Populace, purſued very ambitious and dangerous deſigns?

Who were the aggreſſors? The Nobility ſurely, they who had ſo long deluded the Plebeians, that theſe could no longer truſt them. The Plebeians had indeed ſhewn much more faith and patience, than the other had honour or juſtice; and where between parties, treaties are always broken, enmity will be always reviving. Yet it was many years, rather many ages ere that enmity had recourſe to the ſword or produced hoſtility and blood. The People preſerved a ſtrange ſteddy reverence to the Patricians, whilſt theſe were daily ſcorning, daily aggrieving the People. In the City, ſays Livy, the violence of the Fathers was daily increaſing, and ſo were the miſeries of the People. When they had gained admiſſion to the public Honours, which had been long accounted things ſacred, and thence inacceſſible to the Populace, who were reckoned unworthy and prophane, they were very tender and ſlow in exerting that glorious privilege and power, and for many years continued to confer all the great Offices upon the Nobility. So that they ſeemed to have given back again that

right for which they had so long contended before they gained it [a].

The People are very apt to be deceived, yet as often to their own wrong as to that of others; and when through mistake they have hurt others, they are sorry for it as soon as made sensible of it. Their pity generally follows their severity, and is more lasting than their anger. If their wrath be immoderate, so is their commiseration; and what mischief they do in their fury, they are inclinable to repair when their senses return. When the popular Orators at Athens had before the People falsly represented some of their brave Officers as criminal, the People doomed the innocent men to die, but repented as soon as they were undeceived, and discharged their vengeance upon the Orators.

The People too are very grateful to their benefactors, and their affections generally lasting whenever they are well apprized that the object is very deserving. The Athenians ever adored the memory of Theseus and Solon, ever honoured their descendents. The same respect the Lacedæmonians always paid to the name and posterity of Lycurgus. That of Lucius Junius Brutus was affectionately reverenced by the Romans, so was that of Poplicola, of the Gracchi, and indeed that of all their great Patrons and Heroes. Queen Elizabeth is never mentioned by an Englishman but with affection and praise. The name of Orange is popular in Holland, though some who bore it pursued very unpopular measures there. Does not this shew that the love of the People is stronger than their disgusts? They rather remember him

[a] Possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos, recuperasse in perpetuum patres videntur. Liv.

who

who first founded their Liberty, than him who attempted to take it away.

In Countries where the race of their Princes has proved rather bad than good, nay, exceeding bad, yet the People are generally bent to honour, generally averse to change that race, but retain a fondness without cause or merit, nay, against reason and interest. This is foolish, but it is good-natured folly. The Roman People were fond of the Cæsars, the Parthians of the Family of Arsaces, the French of that of Charlemain, though most of each line proved contemptible or tyrannical, often both. When any of the blood grew quite intolerable, and for his cruelty or insufficiency was deposed, another of the same blood was placed in his room. The Lineage was still beloved and supported, though the men were often changed and abhorred.

Sect. III. The People generally fond of old Names and Habits. The difference between the same People under different Governments: How generous and friendly when free; how vicious and false when enslaved.

THE People are indeed subject to change, but it is chiefly by fits, when they are angry, or seduced. Left to themselves, they usually go on in the old way, or return back to it again. Old Habits and old Names seem to please them most, nor do they readily desert the same till forced or deceived. Cæsar and Augustus were so sensible of this bent in the People to ancient Customs and Institutions, that when upon enslaving Rome, they had in effect dissolved the force and essence of the

Roman Magiſtracy, they left the Magiſtrates their old Names, and all the appearances of power and dignity. They are likewiſe inclinable to be quiet and harmleſs, where no provocation rouſes them: but when they are enraged, they are very terrible and very cruel. Yet their outrage is not apt to laſt. They ſoon cool, and when their rage ſubſides, remorſe is apt to follow: They will then embrace the man whom juſt before they ſought to murder, and love him the more for having intended him a miſchief[a].

Between the Roman People under the Commonwealth, and the Roman People under the Dominion of the Emperors, the difference was as great as between different Nations, and they only reſembled each other in language and dreſs. They were indeed as different, or rather as oppoſite, as men uncorrupted and free are to debauched Slaves. In Livy you find the People brave, generous, temperate and juſt, eſpecially for ſome ages after the riſe of the State: Tacitus repreſents them as falſe, flattering, ſpiritleſs and debauched: Yet neither of theſe Authors is chargeable with contradiction or falſifying. By Liberty they were inſpired with virtue and every good quality: To faſhion them for Tyranny, all their virtue was deſtroyed, all baſeneſs and debauchery encouraged, and they were taught not to conſider the Roman State, but only the Roman Emperor. Their zeal and allegiance were to be manifeſted by obſequious fawning, and a torrent of flattery. This was all their leſſon and duty, and they learnt it notably. They adored, they extolled every Tyrant, the worſt generally moſt: Whether he committed murder, or inceſt, or folly, drove chariots, or ſung ſongs, he was ſtill

[a] Diverſa pari certamine poſtulantibus. TACITUS.

divine,

divine, ſtill invincible. Their acclamations were to ſound not with what was juſt or true, but with what was deceitful and pleaſing. Their praiſes were no proof or effect of their affection, but of their falſhood and ſervility: Whether they hated or deſpiſed him, they were ſure to magnify him, nay, ready to uſe the ſame ſtile towards his enemy and deſtroyer on the very ſame day [a]. They were loud in behalf of Galba at noon, vehement in calling for the blood of Otho: Before night they were as loud in the applauſes of Otho, as vehement in traducing Galba, who was then murdered, and his carcaſs the ſport of the Rabble.

How unlike this to the ſpirit and behaviour of the Roman People under the free State, when any great man, and their benefactor was ſacrificed? After the murder of the Gracchi the People failed not to reproach and even to inſult the authors of it, though the greateſt men in Rome. They charged Scipio Naſica, upon all occaſions, in the ſtreets, and to his face, as a Tyrant and Murderer. Inſomuch that to ſave him from their indignation, the Senate contrived to ſend him into Aſia, under the pretence of an Embaſſy. Nor durſt he ever return into Italy, though he was chief Pontiff, but wandered abroad under diſcontent and anguiſh, and ſoon died of grief, according to the account given by Plutarch. Nor did the celebrated Scipio Africanus, a man as great, as popular, and as much admired as any man that ever lived at any time, eſcape much better, for having ſhewed his approbation of that murder. This provoked them ſo, that notwithſtanding his extraordinary character, and the reverence always paid him, they treated

[a] Quippe illis non judicium aut veritas, ſed tradito more quemcunque principem adulandi, licentia acclamationum, et ſtudiis inanibus.

him with deſpight publicly, and interrupted his ſpeeches with hiſſing. To the memory of the Gracchi, the Roman People amply manifeſted their fondneſs and reverence, cauſed their Statues to be made, erected them in public, conſecrated the places where they were ſlain, there offered firſt-fruits and oblations, there performed worſhip and devotion.

Sect. IV. The People when deceived by names and deluders, how extremely blind and cruel, yet mean well.

THE People are ſo ſincere in their friendſhip, that they are often fond of their falſe friends. Cæſar was popular whilſt he was undoing the People: ſo were the Dukes of Guiſe; ſo is the Inquiſition. That execrable Tribunal, bloody and treacherous as it is, a reproach to Chriſtianity, deſtructive to men, is reverenced as the bulwark of Religion, though it be only ſo to the pernicious Impoſtors who are the peſts of Religion, enemies to Society and human Happineſs. This cruel band of the People's ſervitude and miſery, the People would venture their lives to defend. So profoundly are they bewitched, ſo effectually bound and blinded by ungodly Sorcerers, ſpiritual Fortune-tellers, whom they hug and enrich for cheating and enſlaving them. When once their faculties are thus darkened or dead, it is not ſurprizing that they fiercely reject all relief and illumination, that, following the impulſe or nod of their powerful ſeducers, they are ready to fight in defence of their blindneſs and chains, ready to ſacrifice and butcher all who would enlighten and releaſe them.

Can there be a greater inſtance of the power and miſchief of deluſion, a greater warning to guard againſt

againſt it? Superſtition is apt to creep in and gain force, even without the aid of art: But when art, and induſtry, and intereſt combine to promote and increaſe the infirmities of Nature; when all helps, all tricks, all terrors are applied and exerted to miſlead, frighten and deceive; nay, when power, and penalties, and puniſhments, might and magiſtracy, rods and axes, combine in the cauſe of deluſion and deluders; when all inquiry is forbid, all inquirers executed and damned; what can enſue but thick ignorance and barbarity, the triumphs of fraud, the exile of common ſenſe? Can infatuation and hardneſs of heart go further, than to rejoice in uſing a man cruelly, in torturing him till he is almoſt dead, and afterwards recovering him on purpoſe to burn him alive, for an opinion perhaps very innocent, perhaps very juſt, by himſelf eſteemed ſacred, at worſt hurtful only to himſelf? Yet at ſuch ſhocking acts of inhumanity there are people, there are women and infants, and whole Nations that can rejoice, though in other inſtances not ungenerous nor cruel. They can ſorrow for the juſt execution of a thief, or a murderer, and exult to ſee a conſcientious man thrown quick into the flames, for daring to be rational, for conſulting truth, or endeavouring to make himſelf acceptable to the Deity.

The Deities are hungry, the Prieſts of Mexico were wont to cry in the ears of their Emperor. He took their word, and in ſubmiſſion to ſuch holy warning, butchered thirty thouſand of his Subjects in one year, to humour the Prieſts, and to feed the Idols. What elſe is the language of all men who prompt any Prince to ſhed blood and plague his Subjects in defence of Bigotry falſely called Religion? For, Religion itſelf diſclaims hurting any man for any opinion. *The Deity is angry*, is the

ſtile of all perſecutors; and by the force of that cry, more blood has been ſhed in Chriſtendom than ever was in Mexico, or by all the human ſacrifices ſince the Creation. What elſe is perſecution, but human ſacrifice? What but deſtroying men to pleaſe the God-head? Montagne ſays with reaſon, 'That the Savages do not ſo much 'offend him, in roaſting and eating the bodies of 'their dead, as do they who torment and perſe-'cute the living.'

Sect. V. The power of deluſion further illuſtrated. The dreadful wickedneſs and impieties committed under the name of Religion. Religious cheats ſurpaſs all others.

WHEN the Reformation was gaining ground in Sweden, by the ſecret countenance of that extraordinary Prince, Guſtavus Ericſon, the People enraged by the Clergy, made an inſurrection, and advanced towards Stockholm, with fury and menaces. The King ſent to the multitude, conſiſting chiefly of Boors (for the more ſtupid the men, the ſtronger their zeal) to know their demands. In anſwer they inſiſted, 'to have all the 'Heretics burnt, and the bells reſtored again.' For it ſeems ſome of theſe ſacred utenſils had been diſlodged. Here is an inſtance of a People's furiouſly oppoſing the greateſt good that could befall them, the light of the Goſpel, and redemption from their thraldom to Popery, nay, venturing a rebellion and their lives to defeat that good, and to procure the deſtruction of their friends and neighbours for being wiſer than themſelves: Nor is it the only inſtance. The like happened in many other Countries

tries upon that ſame occaſion. To ſhew, however, that the People are capable of being mended and undeceived, when the Government is wiſe and juſt enough to reſcue them from their deceivers; King Guſtavus having aboliſhed Popery, and proved himſelf an able and upright Prince, lived to ſee his Perſon and Government ſo well beloved, and the People ſo changed, that the ſame Nation who once took up arms againſt him, would have ventured their lives for him.

The People generally mean good, when they commit evil. The Swedes thought that there was no Salvation out of the Church of Rome; ſo their Prieſts told them, nor would they or dared they diſbelieve their Prieſts: And who would not be tenacious of the means of Salvation? They had the ſame falſe aſſurance, upon the ſame holy authority, that Heretics were enemies to God. So that in fighting againſt Heretics, they only fought God's Battles; in burning of Heretics, they did but execute God's vengeance upon God's enemies.

Who is it that would not obey, when he is convinced that the Almighty commands? Hence the power of Impoſtors who ſpeak, and govern, and cheat the People in his name; and hence the frenzy and wickedneſs of the People when under the influence of ſuch Impoſtors. Who will be deterred by the dread of the block, or checked by the ignominy of the gallows, when he conſiders the gallows or the block as the means of martyrdom, and the way to glory? Have there not been men who by the merit even of murder, the murder of Kings, ſought to gain a place in Paradiſe, and immortality amongſt men? Was not Jacques Clement, who aſſaſſinated Henry the third of France, deemed a Martyr? And when his impious fraternity the Monks, had rouſed the bloody Bigot, to perpetrate the deteſtable deed, was he not ſaid to have

been inſpired by God? It is plain that the wretch was perſuaded that he had a call from Heaven. Jean de Chaſtel, a youth who attempted to murder Henry the great, ſhewed not the leaſt ſign of remorſe at his execution: ſo ſtrongly was the Enthuſiaſt poſſeſſed that the murder of an Heretic, and one excommunicated by the Pope, was a ſervice acceptable to God. Ravillac afterwards accompliſhed the murder of that incomparable Prince, many years after he had ceaſed to be a proteſtant, and been formally reconciled to the Church of Rome. The ghoſtly deceivers perſuaded the gloomy Villain, that the King was a Heretic in his heart, for that he did not perſecute and kill the Proteſtants.

Thomas a Becket, a miſchievous aſſuming Prieſt, as this Iſland ever ſaw, turbulent, rebellious, forſworn, was entitled a Saint and Martyr; a fellow that really deſerved a halter, was complimented with a crown of glory, and for many centuries had more worſhip paid him than Jeſus Chriſt. He was indeed a greater advocate for power eccleſiaſtical. So enchanted were the People by the cant and charms of Impoſtors, ſo utterly bereft of underſtanding, as to adore their deceivers, their enemies, and oppreſſors! Can theſe People be ſaid to have been rational, they who were for exalting ſuch as had a manifeſt intereſt to keep them blind and humble, an intereſt to get all their property, and to leave them none of their ſenſes?

It is enough to mortify and grieve any candid ſpirit, who wiſhes well to humanity, to ſee human nature ſo pitifully debaſed, human underſtanding ſuſpended, loſt or turned into a ſnare; taught to be angry at common ſenſe, and to ſubmit to the nonſenſe of ſounds; to learn folly as an improvement; to bear ſlavery as duty and happineſs; to beſtow their wealth upon thoſe who inveighed

againſt

againſt wealth, yet were ever and inſatiably purſuing more; to encourage them with great revenues to perform functions which they performed not, but left to others whom they hired for poor wages; to perſecute truth, and fall proſtrate before falſhood; to worſhip names and garments, common earth, common food, and common men, with many more abſurdities alike diſgraceful to reaſon, alike pernicious to ſociety. Such is the ſovereign force of deluſion, and ſuch was the character of the Engliſh Nation, ſuch that of the Engliſh Clergy, in the days of the great Engliſh Saint, Thomas a Becket, and till the Reformation, when the uſe of reaſon and conſcience was reſtored.

Sect. VI. The People not turbulent unleſs ſeduced or oppreſſed: ſlow to reſiſt Oppreſſors: ſometimes mild even in their juſt vengeance: brave in defence of their Liberties.

IT is owing to the arts and induſtry of ſeducers, that the People are ſometimes uneaſy and diſcontent under a good Government; for under ſuch a Government they are naturally inclined to be quiet and ſubmiſſive, and it muſt be very ill uſage that will tempt them to throw it off, when they are not firſt notoriouſly miſled. There were inſurrections againſt Guſtavus Ericſon, ſo there were againſt Queen Elizabeth, all animated by the ſame ſpirit, ſuperſtition managed and enflamed by Prieſts. But when a juſt Adminiſtration is once ſettled, and become familiar to the People, and where no violent innovations are attempted, they will not be apt to diſturb it, nor to wiſh ill to it. They are in truth

very slow to resist, and often bear a thousand hardships before they return one. The Romans long suffered the encroachments, insults and tyranny of the last Tarquin, before they drove him out, nor would they have done it so soon, but for the rape and tragical fate of Lucretia. The Dutch endured the Tyranny of Spain, till that Tyranny grew intolerable. When King Philip had wantonly violated his solemn oath, destroyed their ancient Liberties and Laws, shed their blood, acted like an implacable enemy, and used them like dogs, it was high time to convince him that they were men, and would continue free men in spite of his wicked attempts to enslave them. They did so to some purpose, to their own immortal glory, and establishment in perfect independency, to his infinite loss and lasting dishonour.

The People of Swisserland groaned long under the heavy yoak of Austria, sustained a course of sufferings and indignities too many and too great for human patience: so insolent and barbarous were their Governors, so tame and submissive the governed. At last they roused themselves, or rather their oppressive Governors roused them, so as not to be quelled. Yet they carried their vengeance no further than was barely necessary for their future security. They spilt little or none of the blood of their Tyrants and Taskmakers, the Rulers from Austria, who had so freely spilled theirs. They only conducted these lawless spoilers to the borders of the Country, and there dismissed them in safety, under an oath never more to return into their territories. What could be more slow to resist, what more meek in their resistance, than that brave and abused People? They were indeed so brave, and had been so abused, as to resolve never more to submit to the Imperial Power. Thenceforth they asserted

asserted their native freedom, and asserted it with amazing valour. With handfuls of men they overthrew mighty hosts, and could never be conquered by all the neighbouring Powers. Their exploits against the Imperial Armies, against those of Lewis the eleventh, then Dauphin, against Charles the bold, Duke of Burgundy, are scarce credible. Three hundred and fifty Swiss routed at one time eight thousand Austrians, some say sixteen thousand. An hundred and thirteen vanquished the Arch-duke Leopold's Army of twenty thousand, and killed a great number; an hundred and sixteen beat another Army of near twenty thousand, and slew him.

It was no small provocation, no casual mistakes, or random sallies of passion in their Rulers, that drove the Dutch and the Swiss to expell theirs. No; the oppression, the Acts of violence were general, constant, deliberate and increasing. For such is the nature of men, especially of men in power, that they will rather commit two errors than retract one; as Lord Clarendon justly observes. Sometimes they will commit a second, to shew that they are not ashamed of the first, but resolved to defy resentment, to declare their contempt of the People, and how much they are above fear and amendment. Some of them have delighted to heighten cruelty by mirth and derision, like him in Switzerland, who having long insulted and abused the poor People, and still thinking their servitude imperfect, set up his Cap in the market-place, and obliged all that passed by to pay it reverence; nay, to punish one for failing in duty to that Cap, he caused him to place an Apple upon his son's head, and at such a distance cleave it with an Arrow. Was there not cause, was it not high time to exterminate such instruments of cruelty?

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DISCOURSE X.

The ſame Subject continued.

Sect. I. The infatuation of Men in power: they are much apter to oppreſs, than the People to rebel. People oppreſſed rejoice in public misfortunes. In diſputes between Magiſtrates and People, the former generally to blame.

IT is a miſerable infatuation of Men in power, to puſh that power and the People's patience as far as either will go, and leave no room for a retreat. Thoſe of this ſpirit finding the People tame and patient to a certain degree, conclude that they will or muſt be ſo to every and the utmoſt degree, and ſo never think of taking off their heavy hands, till the People, grown deſperate, throw off them and their power, and having found no mercy, may be tempted to ſhew none. Promiſes of amendment will then be too late. They will not truſt to the faith and good uſage of one, who had dealt faithleſsly and barbarouſly with them, even before they had exaſperated him by oppoſition. His remorſe and promiſes, however ſincere, will be thought falſe and enſnaring; and even of his good actions unkind conſtructions will be made [a].

Under an evil Adminiſtration, or one ſuſpected and hated (a misfortune that ſeldom comes without cauſe) People will rejoice in the public diſtreſs, ſuf-

[a] Inviſo ſemel principe, ſeu bene ſeu male facta premunt.

fer

fer themſelves to be invaded, ſubmit to be vanquiſhed, bear national diſhonour and private loſs, rather than aſſiſt their Governor to prevent it. Thus the Romans behaved under the Decemvirate. That People of all others the moſt brave, of all others the moſt ſignal for public ſpirit, refuſed to fight, and bore a defeat; becauſe rather than not be revenged upon that uſurped Magiſtracy, they choſe that the public enemy ſhould execute that revenge, and to obtain it, ventured the worſt that could befal themſelves and their Country. Under Tiberius, people received with joy any news of revolts and invaſions. In the year 1639, the Engliſh Nation was pleaſed that the Scots had ſeized the four northern Counties; and in the Reign of Charles the ſecond his Subjects hated the French, becauſe the King loved them, as a Droll pleaſantly told him, when he was wondering what might be the reaſon.

The People are ſometimes long patient under unjuſt uſage, where it is not altogether violent and ſevere. The Romans under the uſurpation of the Decemvirate, continued peaceable whilſt the exerciſe of that power was tolerable; nay, they ſuffered many efforts of Tyranny, oppreſſive enormities, murder, arbitrary impriſonment, lawleſs decrees, and luſt paſſing for Law, before they had recourſe to reſiſtance and ſelf-defence. At laſt they rouſed themſelves, driven to outrage by outrageous oppreſſion. This their proud Oppreſſors might have foreſeen, had not power and pride made them altogether blind. Appius Claudius the chief of them, had hardened his ſpirit againſt all reaſon and tenderneſs: So ſtrangely was he intoxicated with the poſſeſſion of his enormous power. Yet with all their provocation, they hurt no man's perſon. They at firſt threatened high, and ſufficient cauſe they had;

had: But by a few reasonable words they were soon softened, upon assurance of seeing the usurpation abolished. These Usurpers were like most others: They had their authority from the Law, would keep it against Law, and stretch it beyond Law. I could mention a Commonwealth, in which the People have seen themselves for many years, daily divested of their rights, and instead of chusing their Magistrates themselves, according to the very fundamentals of their Constitution, see their Magistrates chuse one another, their Government changed, and an Aristocracy grown out of a popular Government. This public abuse, corruption and breach of Trust, the People see, complain of it indeed, but bear it. Their patience too may have a period: I wish that they may never be prompted to seek a violent remedy, such as may shake or overturn their State.

Governors are apt to censure the People as restless and unruly, the People their Magistrates as unjust and oppressive. It is generally very easy to decide who are most to be censured. There are many Countries where arbitrary oppressions are felt every day, yet not one insurrection or rebellion known in an age. Power is an incroaching thing, and seldom fails to take more than is given. Men in limited authority are apt to covet more, and when they have gained more, to take all. The People, who aim chiefly at protection and security, are content to keep what they have, nor seek to interfere in matters of Power, till Power has attempted to rob them of liberty and right: When these are seized by those who are bound to defend them, are the People to blame for expressing resentment, and seeking redress? It is but the natural Law of self-preservation, a Law that prevails even amongst Brutes; and is the effect of Reason

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as well as of Paſſion. In the firſt ſallies of their wrath, they ſometimes diſcharge it violently and ſhed blood, and when juſtice is denied, ſeek redreſs from force: but their wrath laſts not, and when they once have recovered their uſurped rights, they even ſpare the Uſurpers.

Sect. II. The gentleneſs of the People in their purſuit of Juſtice againſt oppreſſive Magiſtrates. How readily men who have oppreſſed the Law, ſeek the protection of the Laws. The People not revengeful: they ſhew mercy where they have found none.

REMARKABLE was the modeſty and innocence of the Roman People, after all the violent oppreſſions of the Decemviri. Even they from the Camp marched peaceably through the City under their arms, and when they might have fallen upon their domeſtic enemies, the ten inſolent Tyrants, and deſtroyed them at once, they preſerved their temper and civil behaviour, hurt no man's perſon, no man's houſe or fortune. They only deſired to be reinſtated in their ancient Liberties, and left thoſe who had uſurped their Liberties to the chaſtiſement of the Law, an indulgence which they who had deſtroyed Law could not reaſonably have claimed. It is indeed remarkable, that Appius Claudius, the Ringleader of theſe Uſurpers, and the moſt obnoxious to popular vengeance, he who had aboliſhed all appeals to the People, appealed to them himſelf when he ſaw himſelf reduced to the condition of a Subject; ſaw himſelf impleaded for his enormities and lawleſs rule. Could there be a more mortifying declaration

tion of a man's own guilt? He who had deſtroyed all the privileges of the People, had the confidence to implore the People's protection. As a free Roman Citizen he claimed and prayed an exemption from bonds, after he had imperiouſly bereft the free citizens of Rome of that juſt immunity.

The Story is beautifully recounted in the third book of Livy. Appius has had his fellows in other countries, men who would not ſubmit to the deciſion of Law when they thought themſelves above Law; and afterwards, upon the abatement of their pride, were glad to ſeek its protection; men who promoted arbitrary impriſonments without allowing legal relief from the Tribunals of Juſtice, then claimed that relief when they came to be impriſoned. Such men are for equal juſtice, not when other People want it, but when they want it themſelves. Surely if any man ought to be denied the benefit of juſtice, it is he who will do none: A conſideration which was urged againſt Appius [a].

I believe that upon reſearch, it will be generally found, that the People have uſed their Rulers with much more tenderneſs than their Rulers have uſed them; that mercileſs Uſurpers have found mercy, and barbarous Tyrants, when depoſed, have not been treated barbarouſly. That mighty man of blood, Sylla, he who had wantonly maſſacred thouſands, uſurped the Government of Rome, filled its ſtreets with carcaſſes, as well as all Italy with murder and lamentation, a monſter of cruelty, an enemy to his country and all men, lived in ſafety after he had reſigned his power, lived in the midſt of Rome, a City which he had uſurped, oppreſſed, and cauſed ſo often to bleed and mourn: He who by ſo many violent deaths had

[a] Unum Appium Claudium & legum expertem, & civilis & humani fœderis eſſe.

made

made his Country thin, died in peace. So gentle and forgiving were the Romans, that though he walked daily and publicly amongſt them without any precaution, they made no attempt upon his life, however hateful and guilty. Doubtleſs the Athenians might have ſlain their Tyrant Piſiſtratus, during ſo many years as he lived privately in exile after they had expelled him, if their vengeance had prompted them: They ſuffered him to live in quiet, let him live to enſlave them again. Towards Dionyſius the younger, the Syracuſians manifeſted themſelves equally mild and unrevengeful. When they were releaſed from that filthy Tyrant, ſaw him a neceſſitous vagabond, reduced to teach boys, they offered not to diſturb him, ſo far were they from ſeeking his life, but left him an opportunity of enſlaving them once more. Nay, to an Aunt of his, ſiſter to the Tyrant his Father, they always paid the reſpect due to a lawful Princeſs, even after the abolition of Tyranny, ſupported her in princely ſort, and buried her magnificently.

The Romans however they regretted the uſurpation of Cæſar, regretted his death more. He had done them the higheſt evil that Man could do, and they grieved for his loſs. The People of Iſpahan, upon the late Revolution in Perſia, ſhewed more grief for the misfortunes of their Emperor Schah Huſſein than for their own, though theirs were as great as could befall human nature; and though from his evil Adminiſtration, all their numberleſs calamities flowed, firſt all their long pillage and oppreſſion, next war, invaders, and deſolation, then famine and a ſiege, laſtly, their ſubjection to the will and ſword of a foreign enemy, fierce, jealous and ſanguinary. Yet their chief concern was for their old Emperor, the author and inviter of all their ſore afflictions, when they ſaw him

him about to resign a crown which he was never worthy to wear.

Sect. III. The People not hard to be governed, nor unconstant, nor ungrateful, at least not so often as they are accused.

I AM inclinable to think it so far from being true, that the People are hard to be governed, that I am afraid the very contrary will prove true, namely, that they are too easily to be oppressed: Neither is this to their praise. Is it not sufficient for the character of any Nation, sufficient for their duty and glory, to submit quietly to just and humane, to equal and certain Laws, to which their Governors themselves submit? Surely, yes. Is it not infamy rather than loyalty, for People to yield tamely to the wanton will of Usurpers and Traitors, whose duty it is to protect them, whose practice it is to rob them, who will submit to no Law, who execute cruelty instead of Justice, oppress men against Law, or act lawlesly under the name of Law? What else can it be? Here therefore is the difference between Freemen, who obey righteous Laws, and Slaves, who must obey the worst and any.

I know not in the world very many Governments that do not make a shift, and some of them use not very good shifts, to supply themselves with as much power as they well want, and as much revenue as the People can spare. Nor do the People usually refuse or envy them a competent portion of either, nor even some excesses and extravagance in both. But when nothing will suffice less than a power to destroy as well as to protect, nothing less than beggaring the Subjects instead of taxing them;

them; when the Laws are annulled or deſpiſed, and their birthright ſeized; are they unconſtant and ungovernable, becauſe they feel wrong, and ſeek right? Who can be eaſy under diſtreſs, or thankful for barbarous uſage? When men are made great in order to do great good, thoſe who made them ſo, and for whoſe ſake they are ſo, will murmur, if they are diſappointed, eſpecially when inſtead of great good, they are repaid with great evil.

Such as become enemies to their benefactors cannot wonder if their benefactors reſent ingratitude ſo glaring, and ſo faithleſs a return. Violence, eſpecially violence from men who owe us good uſage, will ſooner or later be returned with violence, and ought to be. Not mere power, but protection is entitled to duty and gratitude, and whoever ſets up for governing without protecting, muſt not be ſurprized to meet with deteſtation inſtead of affection, contempt inſtead of honour, oppoſition inſtead of ſubmiſſion. Good Government makes a good People; nor will the good complain of the good. Where the People are bad, it will be preſumed that their Rulers have made them ſo: And then who has moſt reaſon to complain? Perhaps the People are accounted bad for adhering ſtubbornly to their Liberty and Laws: To rail at them for this, is to make them a high compliment, and a ſevere contumely upon their Governors; namely, that they would be Oppreſſors, but their People are too virtuous and brave to let them.

The State of Genoa had recourſe to the French King for protection againſt her Enemies. 'No, 'ſaid the King; the Devil may have that People 'for me, they are only fit for ſuch a Governor.' A ſpeech which has been repeated as a Satire upon them ever ſince, yet was really a very great Praiſe, whatever

whatever he intended. He had once before undertaken their Protection, and sent them Troops, who indeed relieved them from the former enemy, but proved a worse. To repay themselves for saving the Republic, they wanted to destroy it; to enslave it, because they had delivered it from slavery. For such heinous Treachery and Tyranny the People drove them out, and provoked that Prince by preserving themselves. For this he gave them to the Devil as a proper instrument to revenge his quarrel. What would he have had of them? to have been thankful for changing their condition without making it better? to have grown presently easy, because they had changed their Oppressors, but were still oppressed? to have kissed the Iron rod, only for that it was new, though as heavy as the old, and been humbly satisfied with whips and racks, chains and rapine, beggary and death? Could they take cruelty to be mercy? Could they reverence the blackest treachery, and submit tamely to servitude from those whom they employed and paid to abolish it? Did they belong to the Devil for refusing to sacrifice their Freedom and Property, their Families, Lives, and every human happiness, to the lusts and spoil of enemies, or to such as were worse than enemies, faithless friends?

Sect. IV. The People falsly charged with Fickleness, and Ingratitude, and Rebellion in resisting Oppressors and Tyrants. All Tyrants, all who assume lawless rule, are Rebels, and the greatest.

JUST such cause of anger had King James to the People of England, *&c.* of whom he was wont to make the same complaint, that they were a fickle,

a fickle, giddy and rebellious People: A ſlander that turned wholly upon himſelf, who had alienated their affections by uſing them like ſlaves, by governing them without and againſt Law, and, for a limited Engliſh Monarchy, ſetting up a boundleſs Tyranny. It was not enough to be truſted with the power of protecting them, the nobleſt Truſt that mortal man can poſſeſs: No; he muſt have a power alſo to deſtroy them, which none but a Deſtroyer can want. Three great free Nations could not, would not bear to be tyrannized by one truſted and ſworn to protect them. If a man whom I take for a guard become an aſſaſſin, and turn upon me the arms which I gave him to defend me, am I blameable for diſcharging him? Will any but aſſaſſins blame me? If King James was not ſatisfied with the conditions of the Monarchy, he might have declined accepting it: No man would have taken him by force, and made him a King. In receiving it he received a Truſt for the benefit of the People, attended with all reaſonable advantages, with all poſſible glory to himſelf. This Truſt he ingloriouſly perverted, and applied it treacherouſly to their ſubverſion. When he ought to have made the Law his rule, according to his duty and his oath, he made his Will his Law, or rather the will of his bigoted Queen and of his hot-headed Prieſts. Againſt the Conſtitution he ſet up the ſword, his outlawed Prieſts againſt the eſtabliſhed Church, Romiſh Superſtition againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and an Army of Papiſts againſt a Proteſtant People. This was ſuch abſolute Treaſon againſt the Public, that the People muſt have been fickle and wicked indeed, had they given up the ancient Laws, their Property, Lives, and juſt Rights into the jaws of this violent, this enormous and upſtart Power, calculated always to deſtroy, never to ſave.

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Were the People fickle for adhering to their old Conſtitution? were they changeable in not ſubmitting to a change, an avowed and violent change of their ancient Government? Were they ungovernable, becauſe they rejected miſgovernment? ungrateful for defending their Lives and Eſtates againſt the Uſurpation of thoſe who owed them all gratitude? Were they Rebels in maintaining the Law againſt ſuch as were open Rebels to Law, and inſolently profeſſed to be above Law, though veſted with power to protect Law, the only juſt end of power? People that will not be oppreſſed, will always be reckoned ungovernable by men who are, or who would be Oppreſſors, and enemies to Oppreſſion will be ſtiled enemies of Government. It will be ſeditious to blame the exceſſes of Power, inſolent to mention the inſolence of thoſe who abuſe Power; it will be the ſign of a turbulent ſpirit, to diſtinguiſh between public right and wrong, between Government and Tyranny, nor will it be enough to own all good Government to be irreſiſtible, but the worſt and the abuſe of the beſt muſt be likewiſe irreſiſtible: To complain of Tyranny, will be Faction; to throw it off, Rebellion. They who oppreſs are the firſt and greateſt Rebels; and for the oppreſſed to turn upon them, is but to reſiſt Rebellion, is but to do a juſt and a natural action. Whoever violates the Laws of reaſon, equity and nature, whoever violates the Laws of his Country, whatever ſtation or name he bear, is a Rebel, ſubject to the Laws againſt Violence and Rebellion. Tyrants, therefore, and lawleſs Oppreſſors are the higheſt and moſt conſummate Rebels in the world, capital Traitors to God and Man, and puniſhable by all the Laws of God and of Reaſon.

Sect.

Sect. V. People who are slaves love not their Prince so affectionately, nor can defend him so bravely, as those who are free.

WEAK and poor is that loyalty which results only from force and fear, nor can it last longer than does the slavish passion which creates it, but goes with it, as is comes with it. Whenever the dread is gone, so is the loyalty, or follows him who causes superior dread. From a People that are slaves, no Prince can expect steady duty and adherence. Let who will master them, they can be but slaves, and therefore have small reason to oppose one who cannot well make their condition worse, or to abide by him who has made it so bad, and would not make it better. Nor have they spirit to defend him, though they were willing. They are in the field what they are at home, pusilanimous, abject, cowardly. Hence most of the great Monarchies have been overturned, at least always beaten, almost as soon as attacked, especially when by Freemen the attack was made. Thus Darius fell before the Greeks, who in all encounters, and with few men against multitudes, had been long accustomed to vanquish the Great King, and at last seized his many Kingdoms, as long before they would have done, but for their own domestic jealousies and strife. Thus too Antiochus fell before the Romans, and thus Tigranes. Lucullus said well, that 'the Lion never counts 'the number of the Sheep,' when he, who led but fourteen thousand men, little more than two Legions, was told what myriads he had to encounter. It was indeed an encounter between Lions and Sheep, nor found his men so much occasion

for fighting as for laughing, to see such a vast host frightened and flying before a handful of men. From the little free State of the Samnites, the Romans found more danger and opposition than from all the absolute Princes in the world. Such is the mighty difference between the spirit of Freemen and of Slaves, between men who live and fight for themselves, and men who breathe and act at the mere mercy of another.

In the East the servitude of the People is as blind and complete, as Tyranny, and Art, and Superstition can make it. Does this Slavery in the People, Slavery the most stupid and abject, secure the Prince, and fortify his Throne? So far otherwise, that the Eastern Kings, they who are such absolute Masters of the lives and fortunes of their Subjects, are thence the more unsafe, and thence their Thrones the more unstable and wavering. The higher he is, the more violent and probable is his fall. The People indeed profess to adore him: Yes, because they are forced; or whether they do it through fear or superstition, their adoration is not accompanied with personal love; and the nearer he approaches to a God, the less affection he has from men. Where the distance is so vast, there can be no intercourse of mutual kindness, nor can ought which causes only awe and terror, ever cause love and tenderness. He who would gain his People's hearts, must not set himself too high, nor them too low. Between persons who would continue cordial friends some equality must be preserved, whether they be private men, or Kings and People.

Sect.

Sect. VI. The weak and precarious condition of the greateſt Prince, who is not beloved by his People. No Tyrant can be, and why.

PEOPLE who poſſeſs no certain property, nor eſtabliſhment in their Country, are under no tye to their Country, nor holden by any obligation to their Prince. So that, as la Loubiere obſerves in his hiſtorical relation of Siam, ſince they muſt bear the ſame yoke under any Prince whatſoever, and ſince it is impoſſible to bear a heavier, they never concern themſelves about the fortune of their Prince. He ſays, experience ſhews that upon the leaſt trouble or attempt, they let the Crown go quietly to him, whoever he be, that has moſt force or moſt policy. A Siameſe will readily die to diſcharge private hate, to be releaſed from a wretched life, or to eſcape a cruel Death: but to die for their Prince and Country, is a virtue unknown there. They want the motives which animate free men: they have no liberty, no certain property, conſequently no attachment to their native ſoil. Inſomuch that thoſe of them who are taken captives by the King of Pegu, will reſide peaceably in that Country, at a ſmall diſtance from their own frontiers. They ſoon forget their native abodes, where they knew nought but ſervitude, and bear the preſent becauſe no worſe than the paſt. The Natives of Pegu too, when carried into Siam, ſhew the ſame indifference to return home, and for the ſame reaſon. The Kings of the Eaſt, ſays he, are regarded as the adoptive Sons of Heaven, their ſouls believed to be celeſtial, in virtue as much tranſcending other

ſouls, as their royal lot appears happier than that of the reſt of men. Yet if one of their Subjects revolt, the People begin preſently to doubt which of the two ſouls is moſt valuable, that of the lawful Prince, or that of the rebellious Subject, and whether the heavenly adoption be not paſſed from the King to the Subject. Their Hiſtories are full of ſuch examples. He likewiſe quotes Father Martinius, who ſays that the Chineſe are often perſuaded, that in changing their Sovereign they follow the will of Heaven, and have ſometimes preferred a common Robber to the reigning Prince.

But beſides, ſays he, that ſuch deſpotic authority is almoſt deſtitute of defence, the exerciſe of it centering altogether in the Prince, is weak for want of ſpreading and communication. Whoever would diſpoſſeſs the Prince, has little more to do than to take upon him the ſpirit and perſon of a Prince; becauſe all the authority being confined to one, and exerted but by one, is preſently tranſferred, for want of many employed and intereſted to preſerve it; and there is none but the Prince concerned or able to defend the Prince. He adds, that it appears, that in the ancient rebellions in China, whoever ſeized the royal Seal, preſently rendered himſelf maſter of all; for the People always obeyed orders where-ever the Seal appeared, without enquiring in whoſe hands it was. Such too is the jealouſy and care with which the King of Siam keeps his, which he truſts with no man, as to make it credible, that the obedience of the People there alſo follows the Seal. So that the chief danger of theſe Princes ariſes from things whence they hope their chief ſecurity, whether it be from a great Army, or a Seal: Whoever gains theſe, is preſently King. The ſame is true

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of a great Treasure, the last resource in arbitrary Governments. The People there are under a continual state of ruin and poverty, and being constantly drained, cannot furnish any sudden supply upon sudden exigency. The Prince therefore must trust to what he has, and that likewise being liable to be seized, may be turned against him, may serve to exalt the Usurper. Upon this la Loubiere remarks justly, that besides the exhausting and spoiling of the People, by drawing from them great sums to fill his treasure, it frequently helps forward the ruin of him who has gathered it, and as it was collected to preserve him, it is employed and dissipated to undo him. This is the substance of what that Author says in the latter part of the fourteenth Chapter, Part the third.

So much does a Prince gain by boundless power, by enslaving his People, and having an interest and purse different from theirs. They have no ability to support him, nor any reason: They have no money to give him, because he has taken all, or too much; they have nothing of their own to defend, and why should they defend him, since by losing him, they lose nothing?

DISCOURSE XI.

Of Nobility.

Sect. I. The political cauſe of Nobility. They are readily reſpected by the People: apt to oppreſs. Nobility without Virtue, what. The Spirit of Nobility, what it ought to be.

AFTER ſo much ſaid about the People, it may not be improper to add ſomething concerning the Nobility. As by the People I mean not the idle and indigent rabble, under which name the People are often underſtood and traduced, but all who have property, without the privilges of Nobility; ſo by the latter I mean ſuch as are poſſeſſed of privileges denied to the People.

In a State no man ought to riſe above the reſt, without giving the reſt ſome equivalent for ſuch ſuperiority; and for all public diſtinction there ought to be ſome public merit. As it is wiſe in a Prince or a State to employ men of virtue and capacity, it is but juſt to reward them. This was the natural riſe of the Roman Senators, choſen for their ability and experience to direct the State, and dignified with the title of *Conſcript Fathers*, as were their deſcendents by that of *Patricians*. Their duty aroſe from their dignity, and their dignity recompenſed their duty. Thus they merited their pre-eminence and popular eſtimation; nor did the People ever fail in reverence to them, until they failed

failed in their respect to the People, and hardly then. So natural it is for power to encroach, and so much apter are men in authority to depart from moderation, than the People from subjection. As property begets power, so does power property: The Senators, they who swayed the State, engrossed the riches of the State. The People were poor, and kept poor by the Nobility, who oppressed them by excessive usury, and when they could not satisfy the debt, seized their persons, and kept them in bonds. The violence was too great, the usage too ignominious to be always borne by a free and bold People, who therefore in their own defence forced the Nobility to allow them Magistrates and Protectors of their own. Thus began the popular Tribunes, Officers who frequently mortified the Nobility, taught the People to aspire in their turn, and to assert a right to all the highest Honours. This was the effect and punishment of Patrician Pride. The People were content to be governed; but when their Governors insulted and oppressed them, they assumed a share in governing themselves.

The People are the materials of Government, their protection its end, nor can it have any other; and that Government is a Monster where the People have no share, such a Monster as nature produces not, a Head unconcerned for the Body and Members, and, instead of nourishing, devouring them. In Society no man should be higher than others, but for the good of others; when that good is not obtained, when he considers himself only for himself, and pursues his own advantage to the hurt of others, his elevation is preposterous; it is against justice and nature, and better he descend than all men sink. Nature produces no Nobility, nor do the greatest when they come into the world, surpass the meanest in features, com-

plexion or ſtrength. The difference is created by civil eſtabliſhment, which confers Nobility for political ends, but cannot convey a great ſoul with a great name, any more than ſtature or ſtrength. It would be well, if, when the beſt men are thus raiſed, their deſcendents would continue to reſemble them. When they do not, their degeneracy is a ſcandal to themſelves as well as injurious to the Public, and thence the more ſcandalous. For being elated none of them have any cauſe, ſince it is incumbent upon them to ſurpaſs others in Virtue as well as in Title.

Nobility without Virtue is but exalted infamy, and the ſevereſt thing you can ſay of a great man, to call him mean; and mean he is if he do mean things, let his name be ever ſo ſounding; nay, he is mean when his behaviour is not great. The abſence of good qualities is abundant reproach; but where he has many evil and none good, he becomes a diſgrace to his Country, ought to be the ſcorn of his order, and conſigned to the rabble, as he is already one of them in maſquerade. His ſpirit ought to be noble like his name, full of private benevolence, full of public zeal, abhorring corruption, deſpiſing little perſonal advantages, doing juſtice to every man, ſeeking the good of all men; his example illuſtrious as his title, above falſhood, above lucre. It is thus he deſerves ſuperiority and praiſe, and were he not noble, has a claim to be ſo. He honours a great ſtation more than a great ſtation can him. Greatneſs of ſoul is above the gift of man; a Crown cannot convey it, but only diſtinguiſh it, and does honour to itſelf by honour ſo beſtowed. Little to be valued is that reverence which is paid only to title and rank; nor will a wiſe man much regard that reſpect which would be paid to his footman, were his footman in the ſame ſtation. True eſteem is

always

always personal. What men pay to fortune and accidents, is only flattery or fashion, and in it the heart has no share.

Sect. II. The Duty of a Nobleman to his Country. In Virtue and public Spirit he ought to surpass others.

A MAN of great title with a little and evil mind, is worse and more despicable than the lowest of the vulgar, who are often bad through mere necessity and ignorance, as well as through a vicious education. Even poverty cannot excuse the base actions of a man of rank. He who has a worthy mind, will not act poorly even in poverty; he will consider his Duty and Honour preferably to his wants, and bear calamity rather than reproach. All noblemen should be the ornaments of Society, else Society cannot esteem them, nor ought; for their integrity is of great concernment to the Public. According to the measure of their Virtue or Corruption, the State often thrives or decays, especially where they have a large share in making the Laws, and in directing the Administration. It is but common honesty to be just to their Country, to consult and promote its interest; it is no more than the duty which all men owe it; and upon public men, men of eminence and title, this duty is more particularly incumbent: They are of most consideration, they are better qualified (it is to their irreparable shame if they are not) and they are already possessed of their reward, by being what they are.

Whoever is indifferent about the interest of his Country, let his condition be ever so low, is unworthy to live in it, and it ought to drive him out; for he who is not its friend, is its enemy. Though

he may have no fortune, he has ſtill ſomething valuable to engage him; he has a life to loſe or to be protected, and by being protected by the Public, he is bound, nay, he is paid to wiſh it well and to defend it. Beſides this, common humanity, the intereſt, and diſtreſs, and preſervation of his acquaintance and neighbours, or relations, are powerful calls upon him to love and promote the good of the whole. He who has no public Virtue can hardly be thought to have any other; ſince out of a complication of private virtues public virtue ariſes, out of tenderneſs and mercy, out of generoſity and goodneſs of ſpirit, out of friendſhip and juſtice, out of love for Liberty, and Right, and Peace, as likewiſe from an averſion to Intruſion and Violence, to Uſurpation and Servitude.

A Paſſion for the public Weal is the nobleſt paſſion that can poſſeſs the heart of man, and he who has it not can have little elſe that is good or laudable there. A benevolent heart intereſts itſelf even in the concerns of remote Nations, and in Revolutions which befell many ages ago. Who can read of free Nations falling into bondage, of Virtue depreſſed, of Villainy exalted, without ſympathy and commiſeration? Who, even at this diſtance, or a thouſand ages hence, can behold the divine Brutus periſhing in defence of the moſt righteous cauſe upon earth, behold the debauched Anthony, the faithleſs Octavius, triumphing in the worſt, without being touched with indignation, touched with ſorrow? Or ſee, without emotion and heavineſs, theſe and the ſucceeding Tyrants mowing down, with ſettled fury, whatever was good and glorious amongſt men?

If public Spirit be the duty of all men, the duty not only of the middle, but the loweſt order, how much public Spirit is to be expected from the Nobility, from them upon whom their Country has

poured

poured its higheſt favours, upon whom it ſhould rely for the laſt zeal and ſervices? What can be ſo juſt, what ſo dear, what ſo noble and comprehenſive, what ſo much a duty, as to love and maintain what gave us not only birth, but fortune, honours and diſtinction? It is but gratitude to a generous benefactor: and if we are ungrateful, ſo ſovereignly ungrateful, what good quality have we? Againſt Ingrates the ancient Perſians had an expreſs Law, very penal and rigorous. They conſidered ingratitude as the ſource of all enmities amongſt men, and an indication of the vileſt ſpirit, nor believed it poſſible for an ungrateful man to love the Gods or Men, or his Friends, Parents, or Country. Surely he that loves not the laſt, can love none of the reſt, and ingratitude to one's Country implies univerſal ingratitude.

Sect. III. A Nobleman void of good Qualities, or poſſeſſed with bad, a miſerable Character. The Baſeneſs and Corruption of the Roman Nobility; its fatal conſequence.

A Nobleman and not a Patriot, is a wild contradiction, at beſt a pitiful and depraved character. What is he? Surely not worthy to bear any truſt for his Country, or to ſhine in her honours, if he make no conſcience of his truſt, if he betray it, or be indifferent about it, or want public faith and zeal, uncorruptible faith and affectionate zeal. As public Honours ſhould be given for public Spirit, public Spirit ſhould ever accompany public Honours: nor without that has any man a right to theſe, either to obtain them or to keep them. By ſuch an eſſential defect and diſqualifi-

cation he degrades himself, and forfeits what he has no capacity to enjoy. He is afterwards to be considered as an Intruder, a Mimic who indeed acts a part, but sustains no real Dignity. Nor can the ornaments and prerogatives of his Order serve for aught but to expose him to constant ridicule and despight; like many of the Nobility in the time of Sallust, who says of them, 'That 'they were like so many Statues, and besides 'their pompous name had nothing to recommend 'them.'

The stupidity of the Roman Nobility was far from being their worst quality. They were corrupted, debauched, oppressive, insolent, venal; mercenary men who betrayed the Public, who debased themselves to make vile traffic of their voices and power in the State, sold Justice, sold Countries, gave judgment against the Innocent for money, or neglected to do it when the Innocent had none: For money they protected public Enemies, for money authorized domestic Oppressors. Whoever would see a true picture of them, need only read the story of the War against Jugurtha finely told by Sallust. By their Corruption they hastened the downfal of Liberty, of which in truth corrupt men are never worthy. What they afterwards suffered in the civil war, from the rage of Usurpers, was a just punishment upon them for such shameful degeneracy and corruption. Thenceforth they served for continual sacrifices to succeeding Tyrants. They might thank themselves: Had they been just and uncorruptible, they might have saved themselves and the State. By their Corruption and Venality, by their Pride and Oppression, they had lost their power.

Whenever Government becomes corrupt and oppressive, it grows from that moment hated and weak.

weak. Hence ambitious men find temptation and opportunity to overturn it. They will find enough to say against it, and enow to hear them; what they say will be greedily swallowed. The lot that is disliked, is generally believed the worst that can happen, another is desired, and a remedy hoped from a change, which seldom brings one. Whenever the present Governors are hated, their Competitors are sure of being admired, though perhaps much worse. But the evil which is immediately felt is thought heaviest, and to get rid of it, a heavier is often incurred. Besides men will venture a mischief to themselves, if by it they can afflict their enemies. The Roman Nobility had provoked the Roman People, so that both pursuing separate interests fell naturally under the dominion of one. The like happened in Denmark: All public burdens and taxes were laid upon the People, nor would the Nobility bear any part, but treated them with scorn and oppression. The injured People took bitter vengeance, made the King absolute to make the Nobility Slaves. These made once a great figure: At present a small Officer in the Army is of more account than a Nobleman of Denmark.

Sect. IV. The beginning of public Corruption generally from the Nobility: How ruinous this to the Public, and to themselves.

THE first great blow that was given to the Liberties of France, was given by the Nobility, who consented, in the reign of Charles the seventh, as Philip de Comines observes, that the Court should raise money upon their Tenants, for the venal consideration of having share of that money

money to themselves [a]. He adds that by this that King brought a heavy sin upon his own soul and upon that of his Successors, and gave his Kingdom a wound which would continue long to bleed. Upon this occasion, I cannot forbear quoting another passage from that good Frenchman, that honest Politician, worthy Historian. 'Is there, says he, 'a Prince upon earth, who has power to lay a 'single penny upon his Subjects, without the grant 'and consent of those who are to pay it, otherwise than by Tyranny and Violence?—No 'Prince can levy it, unless through Tyranny, and 'under the penalty of excommunication. But 'there are those who are brutish enough not to 'know what they can do or omit in this affair.'

These impositions grew monstrous, almost as soon as they grew arbitrary: Charles the seventh, who began them, never raised annually above an hundred and eighty thousand pounds. His Son Lewis XI. almost trebled that Revenue; and since then, all that the Kingdom and People had, even to their skins, has hardly been thought sufficient for their Kings. All this might have been easily foreseen; but a little present lucre blinded the French Nobility.

By money got with their consent, the Court could maintain Armies without their consent; and it was too late to defend their public privileges, when they had given away the public purse, the first and greatest privilege, the bulwark of all the rest. They afterwards found, by dear experience, that nothing which hurts their Country could in the issue benefit them, and that in betraying the rights of the Public, they had betrayed their own. By

[a] A cecy consentirent les Seigneurs de France, pour certaines pensions qui leur furent promises, pour les deniers qu'on leveroit en leurs terres.

flattering and exalting the Crown for some present gratuity, some poor personal advantages, they brought themselves to a slavish dependence upon the Crown for all the advantages of honour and life. Neither could the Crown be blamed for giving them money, if it was true that they would not do their duty, would not serve their Country without money. By it however they gained little. Besides the meanness and disgrace of it, what they got corruptly, they wasted prodigally, and ruined their posterity without mending their own condition. It was moreover a temptation to the Crown to grasp at all, since whatever is coveted, it knew how to accomplish.

What the Nobility did, others were too ready to imitate, and the Court took advantage of the venality of all. So that Mezeray had too much cause to say what he does of the States-General holden in the beginning of the reign of Charles the eighth, that the President of the States, many of the Ecclesiastics, and several Deputies, sold themselves to the Court, and betrayed the public cause. It must be owned that whatever the Court acquired this way, was but a poor acquisition, not the hearts of the People, but the venal mouths of their Deputies. Nor can a Monarchy be ever strengthened by any acquisitions which weaken the People. It is at best but the strength of a man in a frenzy and convulsions, mighty for a time, and supernatural, but ending in miserable faintness, languor and death.

Sect.

Sect. V. The advantages of public Liberty to the Nobility. How fast Tyrants destroy them. The strange degeneracy of the Roman Nobility: contemptible, yet proud: subject to be degraded for base Morals or Poverty.

IN a free Country the Nobility have room to exercise all their virtues: Under an arbitrary Prince what virtue they have they must hide; since if it be signal, they may find it fatal. It is certain that by most it is marked with a jealous eye, and such jealousy seldom sleeps or forgives [a]. The Politics of almost all the Cæsars were nothing else than bloody devices to murder every man of quality signal for any virtue military or civil, or for wealth and family. Tacitus is full of such examples, and I have elsewhere referred to them. It was treasonable to be noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction; says Tacitus. So that men of character, possessed of great qualities, were, for safety, obliged to disguise them, and to appear, against nature, mean, fawning, debauched, and even stupid, like the first Brutus under Tarquin. The natural heaviness of Galba was supposed to be assumed, purposely to escape the deadly suspicion of the several Tyrants under whom he had lived. Such was the splendor of his race, and such the terrible spirit of those times (which he had escaped) that thence colour was

[a] Promptissimus quisque sævitia Principis interciderat. TAC.

ministered,

miniſtered for beſtowing the name of real wiſdom upon that which in him was real heavineſs, as the ſame author obſerves. Through this fear and precaution, under the Tyranny of Domitian, Tacitus ſays, men were ſo careful to conceal their faculties, that they loſt a great ſpace of their life in ſilence and non-exiſtence, inſomuch that they had ſurvived not only others but themſelves. Now where was the advantage, where the honour of being Noble, when ſuch as were Noble were obliged to act meanly, and to ſeem mean? It was all mock-honour, and a misfortune to poſſeſs it. Under ſuch preſſure aud terrors could virtue riſe or flouriſh, a thing too rare even where it was encouraged?

In fact moſt of the Nobility were what they ſeemed, corrupt, baſe, ſervile, void of ſpirit and virtue, deſtitute of accompliſhments, in name only and fortune diſtinguiſhed from the Rabble, and therefore worſe than they. Ridiculous is a noble name without noble qualities. Is a fruit-tree to be regarded, which bears no fruit? The reaſoning of Marius is unanſwerable [a]. The illuſtrious virtue of the founder of a family, is but a perpetual reproach upon his deſcendants, if they want virtue. The merit of our forefathers derives none upon us, no more than their crimes do guilt. Is it any praiſe to a coward, that he had an anceſtor who was brave? He has much cauſe to be aſhamed, none to glory, yet probably will glory in ſpite of ſhame. The leſs merit generally the more pride, and nothing is more common than to find in very worthleſs, in very corrupt men, notable ſtatelineſs and inſolence. I have known men of the moſt faſti-

[a] Quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum focordia flagitioſior.

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dious ſpirit and confident mien, do actions little and baſe, known them falſe, ſordid, unjuſt. What can be more odious than ſuch men, what more contemptible? Do not Titles and Honours, if they have any, render them more contemptible, more odious? For a great man to be diſhoneſt and corrupt, is infamy in abundance; but when to corruption and diſhoneſty he adds inſolence and diſdain, he is completely infamous, and claims abhorrence from all men.

It was part of the office of the public Cenſors at Rome, to weed the Senate, and to degrade unworthy Senators: Nor could that illuſtrious dignity be gained or kept without a ſuitable fortune. It was not thought honourable or ſafe, that any one with an ill character and no eſtate, ſhould act and vote amongſt Magiſtrates and Lawgivers; that a man of bad morals ſhould direct the public manners, and diſpoſe of property, yet have none. Nor was aught more juſt, than that they who had the ſpirit of the worſt Plebeians, as well as the poverty, ſhould be reduced into the claſs of men whom they reſembled. A Senator was at firſt no more than a Plebeian well accompliſhed, and therefore ennobled; and it was but reaſonable, that Senators, who wanted accompliſhments, ſhould be declared Plebeians again, when in effect they were ſo before. Nobility was the price of worth, and without worth, reckoned Uſurpation. It was thought equitable uſage, as to raiſe men of merit, ſo to pull down men who happened to be raiſed without it. The worthleſs Nobility were a ſcandal to the worthy, as well as to their own anceſtors; nor was it juſt that the worſt ſhould be ennobled, when the beſt could be no more. Great qualities were accounted natural Nobility, ſuch as no favour, no power could beſtow; and the power which

which exalted worthleſs men, was thought rather to debaſe itſelf than to honour them. Beſides it was diſgraceful and dangerous to the State, that men unqualified, corrupt, venal, infamous, ſhould be allowed any ſhare in the ſway; that an Ignorant and a Mercenary ſhould have equal weight with the ableſt Senators, and upright Patriots.

Sect. VI. Public Virtue juſtly due from the Nobility to the Public. They ought to be zealous for Liberty upon their own account.

IT is but juſt to the Public, for men to merit the ſtations which they hold in it, to render themſelves worthy of the privileges and emoluments which they enjoy from it. To take a reward without deſerving it, is a ſort of robbery, eſpecially when to that reward public Service and Duty are annexed. The Nobility of a Country have more advantages from it than the reſt of the Natives, and are therefore more bound in honour and conſcience to ſerve it. It is for this only they are, or ſhould be Noble. For their own ſake alſo they are bound to ſtudy its proſperity, and to guard its Liberty and Laws. Where theſe are precarious, ſo will be their dignity, which can never be ſafe where Liberty is not ſo, unleſs in an eſtabliſhed Ariſtocracy, of which I do not now ſpeak. By ſuch righteous conduct, a conduct ſo worthy of public Leaders, ſo incumbent upon the Protectors of their Country, they entail ſecurity upon their families, and glory upon their own name. For under Tyranny even the memory of great Men is denied Juſtice. Arulenus Ruſticus was condemned for having publiſhed the life and praiſes of Thraſea Pætus, a glorious Patriot murdered by Nero, who hated him for

for his virtue, which the Monster laboured to extirpate from the earth. Herennius Senecio was put to death under Domitian, for doing the like justice to the virtuous memory of Helvidius Priscus. Even the books were doomed to the flames; so zealous were these Tyrants to destroy the name as well as the life of every excellent person. But in spite of the Tyrants, in spite of all their power and rage, those precious names are still preserved, still praised: So will be the names of all great Men remarkably good; and, to heighten the glory of these, the infamy of great bad Men, will be never suffered to perish. Here therefore is the choice, to be immortal in Praise, or in Reproach.

DISCOURSE XII.

Of public Teaching and Teachers.

Sect. I. Whoever is head of the State ought to be head of the Religion of the State. The force of early impressions, with their use and abuse.

TACITUS says, that no government was ever sufficiently powerful to repress the turbulent sallies of a people, who were once brought to sanctify and defend the evil doings and devices of men as real parts and acts of Religion. Never was any observation more true; and it shews of what importance it is to Government to take care how the People are nurtured, that the public education be rational and just, and that subjects be not taught to reverence any authority in the State more than the civil authority, or indeed

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to behold or feel any other whatsoever. Where the public Teachers depend not upon the Magistrate, his subjects will no longer depend upon him, but upon their Teachers, nor obey him when taught disobedience by them. It is dangerous to the Magistrate to have his people believe, that any man, or set of men, has more interest with God than he has, since then, the same man, or set of men, will of course have more interest with his people. Every Magistrate therefore who would rule with proper awe and in proper security, must be at the head of the Church as well as of the State. This was the just policy of the Caliphs in Arabia and Egypt, this the policy of the Sophi's of Persia, and this is the policy of the Crown of Great Britain. The great Turk assumes not the name, but he exercises the power by making and unmaking the Mufti at his pleasure.

In discoursing of public Teaching, I do not mean to consider the course or method of education in schools and universities, but to examine the effects of ignorance or understanding in the people, and how much it concerns a State what notions are instilled into them concerning Religion and Government.

I believe it will be allowed just, that such impressions as are most wise and virtuous, and worthy to last, should be first made, not only because they are most important, but because the most early impressions are likely to abide longest, especially when the understanding finds afterwards cause to approve and retain what the mind had already imbibed. Upon our spirits, whilst yet young and tender, any ideas whatsoever may be stamped, however foolish, however mad, or even pernicious. Nay, such are very easily infused, though very hard to be removed. This is exemplified in the eminent stubbornness of religious errors. Wha

is more monſtrous than ſome of theſe, what more repugnant to all common ſenſe and human happineſs, what more diſhonourable to the attributes of God, what more diſgraceful to the reaſon of men, or more baneful to ſociety? Yet what upon earth is maintained with ſuch fondneſs, with ſuch zeal and obſtinacy? Whence comes all this ferocity for the ſupport of folly, often in defence of miſery, but from hence, that theſe reveries are for the moſt part very early ſucked in, beſides that they are confirmed by ſuperſtition, which teaches men not to reaſon, but to fear, not to ſee, but to believe? I know not that thing which human minds may not be taught to adore, let it be ever ſo abſurd, ever ſo deformed, or deſtructive, whether Crocodiles and Serpents, or Impoſtors and Dæmons. Nay, what they often adore does not even exiſt, but is only fancied, like the imaginary Deity mentioned and ridiculed by Cicero, called *Aius locutus*, the *Voice that ſpoke*, or like the Idols mentioned by St. Paul, who of them ſays truly, 'that they were 'nothing in the world;' that is they were only ſtatues and names.

Of this openneſs of the ſoul to receive impreſſions readily, and of its fondneſs for impreſſions early received, excellent uſe might be made, tho' it has happened to be generally miſapplied and abuſed. The mind may be taught true propoſitions as well as falſe, ſuch as tend to its honour and advantage, as well as thoſe which tend to its hurt and diſgrace. People may be brought up with an high opinion of their own reaſon as well as with a low, and learn to exerciſe it as well as to lay it aſide, to conſider and prize it as a gift and guide given them by God, as well as to rail at it, and to diſtruſt its guidance. As in ſome countries (alas! too many) they are educated to love deluſion, and to adore deluders, they might in others be

be instructed to despise deluders and to abhor delusion; here to love liberty and right, as there to bear bondage and misrule; to love God without being cheated and impoverished in his holy name, to honour Governors, but to own no allegiance to Oppressors; to know that the wise God cannot command fooleries, nor good Magistrates rule violently.

Sect. II. The ignorance of the People no pledge of security to their Governors. The ignorant Rabble always most tumultuous.

GOVERNORS are not the less secure because their subjects have sense and discernment; I think they are much more so, and that from the stupidity and blindness of their people they have constant danger to apprehend; as blind men are apter to be misled than men that have eyes. The ignorant and foolish are eternally subject to misguidance, eternally apt to be inflamed by Incendiaries, to be deceived and drawn away by Demagogues. Such as have no understanding of their own, will be ever at the mercy and command of those who can gain their admiration and esteem, and will ever follow the man who can best seduce them. Thus the causeless mutinies in Armies, thus unprovoked tumults and insurrections in Cities and Countries, generally consist of the ignorant and brutal Rabble, excited and conducted by wretches often as low as themselves, only of superior craft, and the bad are chiefly guided by the worst. Such was the sedition of the Legions in Pannonia, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius.

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'In the Camp, says Tacitus, there was one 'Percennius, formerly a busy Leader in the em-'broilments of the Theatre, and now a common 'soldier; a fellow of a petulant, declaiming 'tongue, and by inflaming parties in the Play-'house, well qualified to excite and infatuate a 'crowd. This Incendiary practised upon the ig-'norant and unway. He engaged them in 'nightly confabulations, and by little and little 'incited them to violence and disorders, and to-'wards the evening when the sobereſt and beſt 'affected were withdrawn, he assembled the worſt 'and moſt turbulent. When he had thus ripened 'them for sedition, and other ready incendiaries 'were combined with him, he personated a law-'ful Commander, and harangued them.' His harangue was artful and vehement, and by it he quite fired the credulous multitude. All licentious-neſs followed and terrible outrages, especially when Vibulenus, another incendiary and common soldier, had inflamed them with freſh fury by an impudent lye, as if his brother had lately perished for promoting the common cause. Insomuch that had it not appeared that the Impoſtor never had any brother, to atone for that imaginary murder their General was in danger of suffering a real one. Now during all this insurrection and uproar of the common herd (for of such only it consisted) the General was still dutifully obeyed by the Centurions, and by all the soldiers of any merit.

Indeed all sudden disorders are raised, all furious and unjuſt revolutions are accomplished, chiefly by the groſs and undistinguishing crowd, nurtured in no principles, or bad ones, ready to take every impreſſion and alarm, to love or to hate by impulse and direction, and to be guided

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not by juſtice, and ſenſe, but by paſſion and names, and cries.

One tumult is generally the picture of all others; and reaſon, which is a calm and orderly thing, can ſcarce have part in any, but inſtead of it rage and wilfulneſs bear ſway: Like the uproar in Epheſus againſt St. Paul, ſtirred up by the Shrine-makers to Diana. A terrible inſurrection there was, and a hideous clamour. The whole city was filled with confuſion, yet the greater part of the multitude knew not wherefore they were come together. They only agreed in their common phrenzy and in a common cry, that *great was Diana of the Epheſians*; and this cry was the only argument which they continued to urge for the ſpace of two hours againſt what the Apoſtle had declared; namely, 'that they were no Gods 'which were made with hands;' a moſt ſelf-evident and pious truth, if ever there were any. But this manly and benevolent doctrine ſerved only to provoke, not to convince a rabble nurtured in blind error, and therefore furious to defend it.

Sect. III. The untaught vulgar, how liable to be ſeduced. The great Power of their Teachers over them.

IT does not at all follow from the ignorance of the people, that they are thence the more likely to be peaceable ſubjects. The more ignorant they are, the more eaſily they are deceived; and ſuch who depend, not upon reaſon, but upon authority and men, are the ſureſt dupes of Ambition and Craft, the certain materials for every public combuſtion. A few loud, or ſolemn, or even ſenſeleſs words artfully pronounced and applied, are ſufficient to raiſe their paſſions, to preſent them

with false objects of love and hate, to fill them with foolish pity or foolish indignation, and to harden them against all sense and peace. It is likely they may be even so blind and bewitched, as to think all their outrages and cruelties so many acts of justice, nay, of piety and merit, especially in countries where they are wickedly taught to believe, that violence and barbarities are well pleasing to God and warranted by his will, provided that, for their justification, his name be boldly used. Whoever can persuade them, that their lawful Governors are enemies to God, has it in his power to make them enemies to their lawful Governors; and then the next step will be to rebel against their King, in order to shew their obedience to the King of Kings.

Neither is it any certain security to their Ruler, that they may be also taught to consider him and his power as altogether irresistible and sacred, tho' he should even degenerate into the most pestilent Tyrant; since, besides that such doctrine is utterly against nature, which when thoroughly incensed, will prove often too stubborn to be bound by any doctrine; there can be no constant dependence upon the operation of any principle which is itself founded upon nonsense and falshood Whatever is absolutely absurd admits of infinite uncertainty and latitude in reasoning from it, and a contradiction once granted generally involves a man in a train of contradictions even to that contradiction and to one another. Moreover the reception of an absurd position implies such blindness in them who embrace it, that the same men who taught them, (for example) that they must never resist upon any pretence whatsoever, may afterwards teach them to resist even upon the very pretence of defending non-resistance.

Such inconsistencies we have seen in our own time. They who teach nonsense, claim likewise a right

a right to declare the explanations of their own nonſenſe, and theſe they take care to accommodate to their preſent temper and views, and to the ſeveral variations of their views. Nor from ſuch as they have inſtructed in folly have they cauſe to apprehend any diſcoveries to their diſadvantage, or that any inconſiſtency will be charged upon them. Men who ſubmit to be blind, have no right to ſee; and he who ſees for them, will hardly ſuffer them to perceive any faults or errors in himſelf. So that he may perſuade them to one thing to day, to another to-morrow, yet ſcorn to own any contradiction in his conduct, or in their practice. He will ſtill be ſure of their adherence, ſo long as they have not light enough to ſee that they want light; nor, whilſt they delight in darkneſs, can they diſlike him who keeps them in it.

Sect. IV. The deceitfulneſs of Doctrines which are againſt Reaſon and Nature.

THERE can hardly be found under any Government ignorance more groſs than under that of Turkey; nor can the power of the Sovereign there be poſſibly carried higher, either in the minds of the People, or in the principles of their Religion. Yet where upon earth is ſovereign Power more precarious than there, where more perillous? and where is the life of the Sovereign ſo often ſacrificed? All men profeſs to adore his perſon, all men own his authority to be without bounds; no man pretends that it ought to be limited: Nay, to diſpute the doctrine and prerogative of his abſolute Will, would be as penal, as to call in queſtion the Attributes, and even the Being of God; nor did it ever enter into their hearts to circumſcribe his Sovereignty by any law. They

profeſs paſſive obedience even unto death, though he command whole armies to precipitate themſelves from a rock, or to build him a bridge with piles of their bodies for his paſſing of rivers, or to kill each other to afford him ſport; nor is he ever accountable for any action or exceſs whatſoever, though he deſtroy wantonly, and without all cauſe, a thouſand of his ſubjects in a day. Theſe are flights worthy the groſſneſs of Turks, worthy the groſs flattery of Turkiſh Divines; nor have any Divines exceeded them in ſtretching this ſlaviſh Doctrine, except ſome of our own who have held it unlawful to reſiſt even for the ſalvation of human kind. As they had thus improved upon the Turkiſh Caſuiſts, ſo in another inſtance they wronged them, by aſſerting that this doctrine was the peculiar characteriſtic of their own Church, when it was that of the Mahometan Church many hundred years before.

But this doctrine, however ſavage and groſs, and however by it flatterers may pleaſe undiſcerning Princes, has been found ſo oppoſite to nature (as indeed it is to all common ſenſe) that it has proved too barbarous even for the barbarity of Turks; and of all Princes who have died violently, none have died more tragically than theirs, none have found ſo little reſpect and obedience. Theſe Gods upon earth; theſe ſhadows and images of the Almighty; theſe brethren to the Sun; theſe givers of all earthly dignities and crowns, are, with all theſe their divine titles, often the ſport and victims of the vileſt rabble.

This it is to carry ſubmiſſion beyond reaſon and nature. As every thing human is limited, ſo of courſe is human patience; and what avails theory againſt the bent of nature? You may bring people by teaching and ghoſtly faſcination, to ſay any thing be it ever ſo abſurd, ever ſo hurtful, perhaps to

to believe it too. But there is difference between saying and bearing, between assenting and suffering. When the trial comes, passion will prove stronger than opinion.

The most ignorant people, though they cannot reason, can be angry; and anger, whilst it lasts, is their guide. Their other guides may dictate to them, and argue for them, but cannot feel for them, may govern their ideas, but not their rage. All schemes which pre-suppose the continual rest or suppression of the passions, are foolish and fantastical, let the terrors and restrictions which they annex be ever so awful. What can be more so than the dread of hell, of everlasting torture and burning; a penalty denounced by some, particularly by the Turks, against resistance, and by many believed? Yet has this dreadful terror, even when corroborated with numerous guards and mighty armies, secured the thrones of Princes? No: Such as have trusted to it, have fallen in spight of it, perhaps because they trusted to it. They who rule righteously want no such deceitful support; for such it is, at best; and he who relies upon it has generally no other to rely on, and therefore deserves not a better. It is not just that falshood should support misrule, or the holy name of God serve to shield an Oppressor. A good Prince confides in the laws, and in his own upright administration, and has no occasion for recourse to lies and frauds, since he is sure of the favour of God and man: and he who reigns wickedly, ought not to wonder if his wicked hopes perish.

Sect. V. The foregoing Reaſoning further illuſtrated. How much it behoves Rulers that their Subjects be well and rationally taught.

HOW little paſſive principles, and unlimited power, and mighty armies ſecure a Prince againſt public diſguſts, the Revolution at Conſtantinople the other day, is a ſignal proof and example; and many ſuch examples have happened there. This is the ſecond within the ſpace of ſeven and twenty years. A Prince whoſe authority knew no bounds, one by whoſe breath all men lived, and the greateſt men periſhed, one whoſe height of power could only be expreſſed by titles taken from the Almighty, is in a moment tumbled from his proud throne into a priſon. Had he not been raiſed ſo unnaturally high, his fall would not probably have been ſo immediate and violent. Where there is only one man to be changed, the change is ſoon made, let the nature of his power be ever ſo pompous, let his name be ever ſo ſolemn. Titles the moſt lofty ſignify nothing, when all reverence for titles is gone; and his deſpotic power, which he holds from his armies, muſt leave him whenever his armies do.

An angry faction, or a tumultuous ſoldiery, or even one deſperate fellow, can effect a Revolution, where it is to be effected by removing a ſingle perſon, ſince upon a ſingle perſon in all arbitrary countries, the whole Government reſts. But, to remove a Parliament, or to deſtroy all them who chuſe Parliaments, is a far different taſk. Here therefore is the ſecurity of a Prince ruling over a free people. The States of the Country are a wall about him. Whatever burthens the ſubjects bear,

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as they are laid on by public consent, cannot provoke them against him: Hence his safety from popular tumults. As he relies not upon armies, at least but in part, even the revolt of an army can but in part distress him; and he has a resource amongst his people, where he has not provoked them by oppression. It will moreover be a constant check and discouragement to any design against him, that, though it should succeed, the Government would not be altered, and severe vengeance would be sure to follow.

Since, therefore, neither gross ignorance in the people, nor the possessing them with the most slavish tenets, can secure their Rulers against insurrections and revolt; it is the interest of their Rulers, as well as duty, to provide that the public education be rational and virtuous, and the public morals be sound, that the people have just notions of right and wrong, that they be not taught slavery instead of subjection, delusion under the name of religion, and folly for devotion. Where they are taught to be honest and sensible, they will be certainly dutiful to their Governors as well as just to one another; but if they be left to folly and corrupt dealings, their reverence to magistrates will be precarious, and may be as well too little as too much, since without a share of sense, especially a sense of honour and obligations, they can have no sure rule of conduct and obedience, and are more likely to follow evil than good, to be turbulent than peaceable.

Every departure from just liberty is an approach to slavery; every advance towards slavery is a step to brutality, which is then compleat when no liberty is left: And the nearer men are to beasts, the sooner they are enraged, the harder to govern. Wild beasts, however managed and muzzled, often

ten deſtroy their keepers, as the moſt abject ſlaves have ſometimes deſtroyed their proud tyrants. Men who know how to exerciſe their reaſon and to watch over their paſſions, will be quiet under good uſage out of choice and intereſt, whereas ſuch whoſe faculties are vitiated or ſuppreſſed, know not when it is proper to ſit ſtill, or when it is right to rouſe: They may be perſuaded, by thoſe whom they truſt with the management of their ſenſes, that the beſt condition is the worſt, that the moſt equal Government is Oppreſſion, that the moſt legal Title is Uſurpation; that a Prince, provided his name be John or James, may do whatever he pleaſes, be it ever ſo wicked and tyrannical; but if he be called Thomas or William, let him be ever ſo juſt and wiſe, he is an uſurper. For, to the ſtupid and intoxicated herd they do not, they need not, give the true reaſon, or a better reaſon, or any reaſon at all, for this their partiality and averſion. Neither is it likely that they will own, that in ſtiling Rulers the Ordinance of God, or Apoſtates from God, they are generally, almoſt eternally, guided by their paſſions, to fawn or clamour, flatter or revile, bleſs or curſe, be obſequious or rebellious, juſt as they find themſelves courted or neglected.

Sect. VI. Power in the hands of the public Teachers how dangerous to Rulers; and how ill it ſuits with Chriſtianity.

A People led by deluſion, eſpecially by religious deluſion (the moſt powerful of all others, and thence the moſt practiſed) are the ſubjects, not of the civil magiſtrate, but of the deluders, who may incite them againſt him, as well as

as engage them for him. Insomuch that for his own safety, and for the repose of the State, he must be beholden not to his People, but to the Leaders and Pedagogues of the People. To them he must pay all his court, and leave them to domineer, nay, assist them in domineering, that they may suffer him to reign, though only to reign in name. Constant distress and restraint is the least that he can expect, nay, if he continue not sufficiently tame, they will perhaps arm his own subjects against him; perhaps, not content with putting him under due fear and chastisement, they will even depose him, perhaps butcher him, or oblige him to butcher himself. Even this last sally of their pride and power is not new, as the others have been very common. The Egyptian Priests of old had gained such absolute sway over all men, especially over the King, that, as often as they found themselves prompted by any offence from him, or by any caprice of their own, they were wont, by a short order, to command him to die.

Others, since, have acted with equal scorn towards Princes, and deposed and murdered them with as high a hand. Nay, in most of their struggles with their Sovereign, they have proved too hard for him; a superiority which they at first gained through his own blindness and ill policy, by giving them himself, or suffering others to give them such mighty revenues, that, by the strength of these, and by their influence over the consciences of men, which with equal weakness he had surrendered to their will and blind guidance, they were become so potent and imperious, that he was glad to compound with them for the quiet possession of his throne, to comply with all their demands, to be still augmenting their privileges and power, and

thence to weaken and give up his own; nay, to be their daily and common executioner, and to inflict death and vengeance where-ever they ſhewed diſpleaſure. Nor did all this complaiſance always ſave him, if he manifeſted any uneaſineſs or reſerves, or the love of mercy rather than of cruelty, or refuſed chearfully to kill or diſtreſs all his ſubjects, who in their devotions uſed not the words and tunes in faſhion, though the faſhion was daily changing.

The ſpeech of the Biſhop of Niſmes to the French King the other day is a curious ſpecimen of the ſpirit of thoſe men. He tells his Majeſty, 'That his Monarchy is founded upon Catholiciſm,' that is, upon whatever they, the Biſhops, ſhall think fit to call ſo; for they are the Judges. So that, whenever he falls from Catholiciſm, that is, whenever he provokes theſe Judges of Catholiciſm to declare that he does, he falls of courſe from his Monarchy. In the mean time they modeſtly expect from his Majeſty, that he ſhould perſecute and undo all who refuſe to ſubmit blindly to their authority and dictates, in ſpite of conſcience and conviction. It is the uſual reaſoning of ſuch men. Whoever oppoſes or contradicts them, never fails to be an enemy to God and the King.

Chriſtianity, which was certainly propagated without the aid of wealth or power, never has, never can receive any aſſiſtance from either. Like all other inſtitutions civil and ſacred, it muſt ſubſiſt upon the ſame principles from whence it began, or ceaſe to ſubſiſt. Nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive, how Religion, which is a conviction of the ſoul produced by the grace of God there, and without that grace can never be produced, ſhould reſult from force or gain, things which naturally cauſe only pride and the fear of man,

man, and other worldly passions quite repugnant to Religion. Nor was any thing ever more evident than that, when secular authority and secular riches are contended for in behalf of Christianity, it is done not by the voice of Christ nor for any purposes of his, but by the voice of interested men, and for apparent ends of their own.

We will readily allow them to be holy men, who call men to Christ, and labour to convert souls from sin; but surely they are not also holy when they are employed about things which have no share of holiness in them. They are not holy in offices and pursuits which are purely civil or natural. No man can be said to be holy in eating, sleeping, or in growing rich: neither is he holy even in preaching or praying, if in these functions his soul be corrupt or insincere. If his sermon be about secular things, it is not a religious sermon, no more than any other speech prompted not by grace but by passion; or, if he pray without faith and the spirit, his prayer is no longer holy. We must distinguish between the occupation and the man, between his holy occupation and his other occupations. Were every thing which a holy man does, to be accounted holy, even his sin would be holy, his acts of frailty would be acts of holiness. In his preaching and teaching the same rule must be observed; else his mistakes must be swallowed as instruction, and he may preach you into sin and folly as well as out of it.

Sect. VII. The abſurdity of implicit belief in any ſet of Teachers, with its miſchievous and monſtrous conſequences. The natural progreſs of Perſecution.

WHAT is ſaid above ſhews the monſtrous nonſenſe of ſubmitting blindly to any ſet of Teachers, and the matchleſs aſſurance of ſuch as claim it. The condition of the countries where this wicked point is gained, their ſhocking ignorance and miſery, are abundant warnings to nations who yet poſſeſs the privilege of private judgment and conſcience, to be zealous in preſerving a privilege ſo precious, the ineſtimable gift of God and Nature, that divine ray iſſuing from the Deity, and the true characteriſtic of a rational creature.

It is human reaſon more than human ſhape, that denominates a man. Indeed ſuch as part with their reaſon, have in a great meaſure renounced their ſpecies, and are to be ranked with creatures that are not rational, nay, in ſome ſort, below them; for, dumb beaſts part not with their inſtinct. After this fatal ſurrender of their chief faculty, what other faculty, or which of their ſenſes can they claim a right to exerciſe? They have indeed ſmall pretence to any reſerve, nor is any reſerve allowed them ſuch as may interfere with their ſpiritual bondage. They are even doomed to renounce their eyes, their taſte and their ſmell, to diſown the taſte of bread in bread, and the flavour of wine in wine, to ſee the one God, who is indiviſible and fills heaven and earth, cut out of a loaf into numberleſs human bodies intire, yet ſtill, to maintain that he is but one though thouſands of mouths are eating him, and each eats him whole.

After swallowing this infinite lie, what other dare they dispute, especially when it comes from men armed with double terrors, those of Hell and those of secular Power? It is then too late to assert our senses, which perhaps are already bewitched and given up; it is too late to alledge, that it implies an absolute contradiction and impossibility, for any man to bind and govern the involuntary motions of my soul, which I myself cannot direct, nor hinder, nor alter. From the assuming of a power over the mind of man, every other power will follow of course; and civil servitude is the sure result of spiritual.

From hence men should be exhorted to examine before they assent. To order men to believe in their hearts what the heart of man cannot conceive, is such a stretch of assurance and impiety, such a mark of malice against truth and sense, such an assault upon natural candor and veracity, such a sure way to harden men in lying and hypocrisy, such an apparent inlet to all delusion and every ungodly dominion, that all men should rise up against it. It may begin with negative penalties, but, if suffered to go on, will end in an Inquisition; for, a small punishment infers the necessity of a greater, where the first answers not the end, and consequently of the highest, when none but the highest will do.

How few consider this, with the danger and natural tendency of punishing for opinions? Many would rejoice at the whipping of a man for having notions different from theirs, yet be sorry to see him burned: whereas the same arguments that justify the use of the lash will justify that of the faggot, and were that man as strong as his persecutors, he has an equal right and pretence for whipping or burning them. So that if this spirit were universally let loose, before persecution ceased men must cease.

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Sect. VIII. The Will of God not depoſited with any ſet of Men. The uſe of public Teaching, with the Character neceſſary to public Teachers. How much they are corrupted by Pomp and great Wealth.

WHEN the Will of God is matter of record, it is monſtrous abſurdity to depend for the knowledge of it, upon the authority of men; and it is an open affront to the divine Being, to ſtile it his revealed Will, and yet to call it obſcure or hard to be underſtood. What can be greater mockery than to ſuppoſe, that the omnipotent God ſhould impart to ſome men only, certain great ſecrets which were of the utmoſt importance to all men; that all men were to be eternally taxed for having theſe ſecrets eternally communicated them; that he ſhould publiſh theſe ſecrets in his revealed Will to remain always concealed though always preached; that they are ſtill to be ſecrets, ſtill hid, though thouſands are publiſhing and explaining them every day, and have been for many ages? Is it not more worthy the idea of an all-wiſe, of an all-merciful God, to believe that he lays open to all men whatever is neceſſary for all men to know?

Neither does this reaſoning affect the being of national Churches. It is my opinion, that a parochial Clergy are of infinite uſe, where they take pains by their example and inſtructions to mend the hearts of the people, where they teach them to love God, and their Neighbour, and Virtue, and their Country, and to hate no man. As corrupt as men are, though more prone to evil than good, I believe it poſſible for a wiſe, and diligent, and upright Clergyman, to ſhame vice and diſhoneſty out

out of his parish, to make virtue amiable to all his hearers, to convince knaves of the folly and deformity of knavery, and to persuade them to be honest even for the sake of interest, as well as for quiet of mind, and for reputation, and the love of their neighbours. By the same means other evil habits might be cured, such as drunkenness, lewdness, lying and idleness. People might be even made fond of all the genuine duties of Religion, which are really but few in number, and all capable of demonstration to the meanest capacity.

But it is absolutely expedient, that they who profess to teach truth, be themselves men of veracity; that they be virtuous and sober in order to recommend sobriety and virtue, and shew by their behaviour, upon all occasions, that their duty, that the instruction and happiness of the people, is dearer to them than their own interest. If the conduct of a Teacher be contrary to all this, his character is contrary to that of a Pastor. If he set out with a great and solemn falshood, and say that he came from God, whom he never saw, if he alledge the call of the Holy Ghost, when his call was apparently interested and human; these are the marks of every false prophet, and he doth not teach, but deceive: Or if he be debauched, or false, or idle, vain will be his attempts, if he use any, to cure these vices in others. If he have a great or considerable revenue for the cure of souls, and surrender that important cure to a worthless hireling retained at a small price, can he be thought to love souls so well as money? Nor can he pass for an Embassador of Peace, if he revile, or curse, or teach his people to hate and injure such as differ in speculations from him.

Neither can he be thought a messenger of truth, or an instructer of men, if he puzzle them with curious

curious and fanciful notions irreconcileable to probability and human apprehenſion, yet to be embraced as neceſſary duties. This were to repreſent the wiſe and good God as delighting to mock and perplex his creatures with riddles and contradictions. And for men to own their belief of any religious propoſition, which they cannot poſſibly conceive, is to mock God in their turn; ſince to embrace with our underſtanding what the underſtanding cannot comprehend, is abſolutely impoſſible. I can eaſily conceive, that a juſt God muſt love righteouſneſs and hate iniquity; and this muſt be obvious to the conceptions of all men. But, I cannot conceive how the God of truth ſhould delight in ſophiſtry, how he who would have all men come to the knowledge of truth, ſhould deſire to have all men confounded with inexplicable niceties, or to have that made true in ſyſtems which in reaſon can never be true.

Neither can a Teacher ever edify others whilſt he preaches up himſelf. If he contend for power, and dominion, and worldly pomp, how is he a ſpiritual guide? The bleſſed Jeſus and his holy Apoſtles had nothing of all this, claimed nothing. And it is amazing that others, who evidently want the ſpiritual endowments of the Apoſtles, ſhould venture to demand, as ſucceſſors to the Apoſtles, what it is plain the Apoſtles never had, nor ſought. Other arms than perſuaſion and prayer, they have none, and power is incompatible with either. It was natural for Mahomet to plant a falſe Religion by troops of horſe. But Chriſt and St. Paul took no ſuch ways, nor allowed others to take them.

Nor has it at all appeared, that our Religion ever flouriſhed in proportion as Churchmen grew wealthy. I doubt its ſpirit will be found to have conſtantly

conſtantly ſunk as their pomp increaſed. The People, indeed, have ever been moſt ignorant where the Clergy have been moſt powerful. The more the latter had, the leſs they taught, and, when under the name of Religion, they were become maſters of all things, they quite aboliſhed Religion to ſet up frauds and ſuperſtition. To what groſs ignorance, to what miſery and barbarity they had brought Chriſtendom before the Reformation, I leave Hiſtorians to declare. In what a horrible ſtate of ſtupidity, dread and deſolation, they ſtill keep the parts of it yet unreformed, all travellers ſee, and all that read travels may learn.

So much the poor People got by giving theſe their Teachers all, or too much, and by believing their commiſſion to be from God, when they were acting like the moſt depraved of men, full of revenge, though profeſſed followers of the meek Jeſus, who when he was reviled, reviled not again; nay, confidently glutting their avarice under his name, though he himſelf had not a place where to lay his head.

All this was natural, and, in all places upon earth, the like cauſes will produce the like effects, to the end of the world. The people who had been long deluded, grew firſt blind; when they had parted with their reaſon, they were eaſily brought to part with their property, and where all the property was, there all the power followed.

Sect.

Sect. IX. Public Teachers have no Power, no Creation but from the State. Their Folly and ill Policy in claiming any other.

IT becomes the wisdom of all Governors so to fashion and regulate the public Teachers, as to let them know, and all men see, that they are the Creatures of the State, appointed by the civil Power to a religious office. This was the wisdom of England at the Reformation. They were then obliged to swear, that they derived all power of all sorts whatsoever, from the Crown; nor could they after this, without expres perjury, claim any antecedent or independent power. They were by this cut off from the prophane nonsense and presumption of their predecessors, of representing Jesus Christ, and of succeeding the Apostles; a source from which the Popish Clergy had drawn all their gain and fairy dominion, and with which they had covered and hallowed all their wicked pretences and frauds.

Yet for several reigns after the excellent Queen Elizabeth, though the same law, and oaths and subscriptions continued, many of the Clergy, in defiance of the constitution, of conscience and of shame, adopted all the antichristian and corrupt claims of the Popish Clergy; and, through the monstrous policy of the reigning Princes, this their lawless behaviour was connived at, nay, supported. For, the Court, where all arbitrary schemes were on foot, in order to gain its own pursuits, humoured and assisted the Clergy in theirs; and though both Court and Clergy became thence notoriously unpopular and obnoxious; though both Monarchy and Church suffered a terrible Catastrophe, for aiming at more than belonged to either, the same restless

reſtleſs ſpirit poſſeſſed both upon their re-eſtabliſhment, and both arrogated a power to be lawleſs and forſworn, by divine right.

This ſpirit met another ſevere check afterwards, yet revived again with equal confidence; but the times ſince bore it worſe than ever: Inſomuch that all the contempt of which Churchmen ſo much complain, has been brought upon the Clergy by many of the Clergy themſelves. Their claims were ſo ambitious, extravagant, indeed ſo falſe and wicked, and have been ſo well expoſed, that no man of common ſenſe could reverence the perſons who made them.

What they are, the Law certainly makes them; what they have, the ſame Law certainly gives them. Why would they be falſly aſpiring to a higher creation, and a title divine? Why be deriving from God what all the world ſees to come only from the bounty of ſocieties and of particular men? Why be broaching doctrines deſtructive of Liberty in a nation of Freemen? Why aſſert an extraordinary, even a divine power to do certain actions, and pronounce certain words, which any man who has hands and a tongue could ſpeak and perform as well, if the civil Magiſtrate appointed him? Why would they ſhock all men of any diſcernment or piety, by fathering all their moſt ſelfiſh, all their moſt earthly and ſordid opinions upon our bleſſed Redeemer and his holy Goſpel, all their notorious falſhoods and contradictions upon the word of truth? Why cover apparent ambition and avarice, manifeſt vengeance and anger, with theſe ſacred names?

Theſe were not ways to gain reverence; and had they gained any, it had been all falſe reverence, not worth gaining, indeed worſe than none. Truth wants no falſe decking, nor any help from falſhood,

hood, but is often loſt or injured by ſuch unnatural company. Whoever ſpeaks truth and does good, is ſure of a warrant and approbation from heaven, whatever be his habit or his title; and, if he utter falſhood and do miſchief, he may be aſſured that God will diſown him; and no name, however ſolemn, no habiliment, however grave or gorgeous, can in the leaſt juſtify him.

The Apoſtles had no power, no revenues, nor even the countenance of authority. All their credit, all their reverence and ſucceſs flowed from their heavenly doctrine and behaviour. I hope the world, which has been ſo long illuminated with the light of the Goſpel, is not worſe than it was then. The Goſpel has been many ages planted amongſt us; nor could the Clergy be ſaid to be ſtill planting it over again where the people already believed and received it. The buſineſs therefore of the public Teachers was, by continually urging its precepts upon the conſciences of men, to improve them in practical holineſs, to purify their lives in this world, and thence fit them for another. For this purpoſe they have encouragement and ſupport from the State; and as a deſignation and maintenance from the civil power is all that they can deſire, it is likewiſe all that they want. They have all poſſible ſcope to propagate every divine truth, to enforce every ſocial and civil duty: And whilſt they are thus worthily employed, no man will envy them, no man can contemn them; nay, all men will, for their own ſakes, pay them all due countenance and reſpect.

In this glorious purſuit they might be of excellent uſe to others, and gain great eſteem to themſelves, by making people good and government eaſy, for good men will be good ſubjects. But it will

will be a great obſtacle in their way to eſteem, if they aim at too much, and would derive it only from their name and function, however they neglect or pervert their duty, and however worthleſs they be in their perſons. Too great a fondneſs for themſelves, will make others leſs fond of them, and by deriving their pedigree too high, many will be provoked to ſet it too low, or even at nought; like vain men who boaſt the greatneſs of their race, when their deſcent is known to be ordinary, and their riſe late and ſudden.

Sect. X. The fatal and ungodly conſequences of allowing force in matters of Religion and Conſcience; how inconſiſtent with the nature and end of religious Teaching. The contempt of public Teachers, whence it ariſes, and the cry of Prieſtcraft how founded.

FROM all temporal power the public Teachers ought to be carefully debarred. This is what neither agrees with the Teachers of Religion, or with the nature of civil Government, which admits not of partnerſhip. For the ſame cauſe that any degree of ſpiritual power is claimed, the higheſt degree will be claimed, till at laſt the civil power is either ſwallowed up in the eccleſiaſtical, or becomes only its tool and machine, as in Spain and Italy, where the Clergy claim a juriſdiction independent upon the Magiſtrate, which alſo infers a right to excommunicate and depoſe him. This is at beſt a two-faced Tyranny, a lame and uncertain Government, conſtrained to do too little or too much; a monſter with two heads, each aiming at the chief direction of the body,

body, each furnished with a set of limbs moving opposite ways.

They who deal with the soul, if they meditate its conviction, must avoid all force, which can only teach it to lie. Indeed the exercise of power in matters of Conscience has produced such tragical effects, always and every where, as to be sufficient warnings to every country and generation to prevent kindling a flame that would consume all things. Whenever this power has been once gained, the public Teachers have then done teaching, and begun to command. Instead of arguing, they then imprison, and silence gainsayers by a halter, or a faggot.

It is wonderful how a man of this spirit, can have the face to attempt the conversion of any man or nation of men. How can he pretend to reason me into his opinion, when if I embrace it, I must never leave it, though I dislike it, nor follow my reason afterwards, though my reason satisfies me that I have been mistaken, and that my present profession is impious and absurd? Would it not be madness to embrace the opinion of a man, who professes to persecute or kill you, if you ever afterwards change your mind, let your conviction be ever so full, your conscience ever so uneasy? I would fain know how such men can set about the work of conversion, unless they play the hypocrites, and hide all their terrors, their daggers and their flames, till they have once made sure of your person. This were a fraud unworthy the Christian name, and yet I cannot see how such men could avoid such a fraud. They are obliged either to forbear conversions, or to deceive their converts. Their principle is antichristian, and must lead them into antichristian practices. Whoever would preach the name of Christ, must renounce all persecution, all severities.

Such

Such of our Clergy as diſown all ſpiritual independent power, all chimerical claims to a divine right, and honeſtly derive all their diſtinction and privileges from the Law of the Land, have acted a wiſe as well as an honeſt part, and are the only men who can preſerve the Church and Churchmen from contempt, by giving up all ghoſtly craft, all reſtraints upon Conſcience, and by declaring for reaſon againſt force. Such men can never be charged with Prieſtcraft nor be obnoxious to the ſcorn that follows it. That ſuch craft has long prevailed in the world, done prodigious miſchief in it, and proved always baneful to private Conſcience and to public Liberty, is too manifeſt to be denied. Indeed, to raiſe a cry of Prieſtcraft where there is none, would be fooliſh and unjuſt; and it is as fooliſh and unjuſt to complain of the cry where the thing ſubſiſts. I doubt the thing only began the cry, and continues it where it is continued.

Every claim of the Clergy's, which is irreconcileable to the underſtandings, to the freedom and intereſt of the Laity, is Prieſtcraft, ſuch as any power to domineer, to damn or to ſave, to know hearts by confeſſion, to change the qualities of perſons, and places, and matter, by prerogative and words, &c. Surely the impartial God, the Father of mercies and of men, is not influenced by the perſons of men; nor can the ſame words be effectual with him out of one man's mouth, and ineffectual out of the mouth of another. This would not ſavour of infinite wiſdom, but of infinite caprice; as it would be infinite cruelty to make the happineſs and eternal welfare of men depend upon habits and poſtures, upon names and forms, and to leave the ſalvation of one man, or of many, at the option of another, or of a few. Yet this doctrine, as falſe and impious as it is, has been

been maintained; and a power to oblige all men to submit to it has been contended for.

Sect. XI. Power in the hands of any public Teachers, leads naturally to Popery, and is Popery. How apt they are to differ amongst themselves, yet claim conformity from all others. Persuasion and good example their only province; the sanctity of their doings their only sanctity.

SUCH principles as these mentioned in the last Section, constitute the genuine spirit of Popery. This is the spirit, these the principles which make Popery terrible. For, as to the mere whimsies of Popery, its ridiculous tenets and worship, they are of little moment in themselves. If a man pay adoration to a piece of paper with a picture upon it, or to a bit of rotten wood, or to a rusty nail; he is to be pitied for his folly, but by his folly he hurts not me. It is the power of the Clergy, it is their long claws that constitute Popery, render Popery terrible, and are Popery, real Popery, whatever else it be called. A Clergy who may do whatever they please in behalf of themselves against the Laity, will ever be popish Priests; that is, they will do what popish Priests have always done, every thing to depress the Laity, every thing to exalt themselves. Other difference there will be none, save in names and trifles.

Wherever the power of Popery, that is, an unbounded authority in the Clergy, is established, all the visionary follies, all the idolatry and extravagant superstition of Popery, are likely to follow. The ignorance and pannic fears of the vulgar, and the

the cunning and selfishness of their guides, will in time introduce all the rest. The amazing positions and absurdities of Popery were not immediately settled with the monstrous power of the Popes, but gradually and naturally followed it.

Calvin was a protestant, and a Reformer, and occasioned great good by weakening Popery: but in the proceedings against Servetus, Calvin was a Pope, nay, a popish inquisitor, if it be true, that he was the author of these proceedings. Was Servetus a Heretic to John Calvin? So was John Calvin to the Pope and the Monks, who had as much right to burn him, and were as little vouched by the Gospel in their trade of burning, as was he in burning Servetus.

Were every man who differs from another in religious points, especially in points owned to be not only curious, but even inexplicable, to be executed, but one man in the world would remain alive, since all men differ more or less. No men differ more about Religion than Clergymen, or with more acrimony. They are subject to dispute about things of the least and of the greatest moment, and to mix much passion with all their disputes, be the subject ever so important, or ever so trivial: I wish I could say, that they never manifested any unchristian want of charity towards each other, and towards all their opponents whatsoever. However that be, it is matter of wonder, that they, who are so different and opposite, nay, so endlessly divided in their sentiments, can so boldly exact conformity from all men, can contend that all men should agree with them, who cannot agree with one another.

Under all the darkness and uncertainties of Paganism, did the Philosophers (the Teachers of those days) differ more widely, or quarrel more fiercely than the Teachers under a clearer dispen-

ſation have differed and quarrelled? Or did the wrangling of theſe old heathen Sages ever produce ſuch furious ferments in the world, ſuch mercileſs wars, ſuch public deſolation, as the everlaſting contention between Fathers and Fathers, between Doctors and Doctors, has produced? It is ſtrange, that they who profeſſed to be guided by eternal verity, and to guide all men to it, ſhould maintain eternal ſtrife about it. If this be owing to their own various conceits, to their paſſions, errors and particular intereſts, with what certainty, or ſatisfaction, or ſafety, can we rely upon ſuch diſputing and contradictory Leaders? How is it poſſible to be determined by judges who vary thus infinitely in their judgments? Will they tell us, that they agree in the thing, though they differ in explaining it? This would be too great mockery, when it ſeems we muſt aſſent to the thing as they explain it; elſe there is an end of all their pretended authority and guidance. If they ſay, that the thing cannot be explained at all; this is ſtill equally abſurd, ſince the aſſenting to what admits no explication, is to aſſent to nothing; and why do they diſpute about what they can never clear?

It, in truth, looks as if the providence of God had thus ordered it, on purpoſe to baffle the vanity of ſuch men as would dictate to others, and attempt to make his word clearer or darker than he himſelf has thought fit to make it. It looks as if he meant to warn us, by theſe their perpetual wrangles, to depend upon our own eyes and reaſon for underſtanding his will revealed in his word, which to the meaneſt capacity diſcovers what is ſin, and what is duty. What more is neceſſary? Has curious doubting and learned diſcord ever mended the world? I wiſh the contrary were not too tragically true.

The

The province of public Teachers is perſuaſion. Other force than that, and the force of good example, is monſtrous; it is contrary to the Goſpel to require any, or any reſpect at all but what reſults from their uſefulneſs and the piety of their lives. All men will be ready to reverence them according to the meaſure of their integrity and virtue, and of the good that they do. What would they have more? This is reverence upon a ſolid foundation, ſuch as will laſt. But to demand high reſpect to mere ſhew and names, to the ſanctity of their characters, however little there appear in their perſons, or to their mighty prerogatives from Heaven, when their purſuits are altogether worldly, is the direct way to bring themſelves under public ridicule and even public indignation.

It is only ſanctity of actions that makes a ſanctified character; and whoever does thoſe actions has that character, as he who does them not cannot have it, though he may boldly aſſume it. A Clergyman who is a perſecutor, an oppreſſor, a drunkard, proud, unjuſt, licentious, muſt with an ill grace talk of his ſacred profeſſion, or pretend to the Holy Ghoſt. Much more conceivable it is, much more likely and natural, that the Holy Spirit ſhould influence and accompany any Layman who is peaceable and merciful, juſt and ſober. That Spirit can never ſurely be ſuppoſed to dwell in evil and vicious men, be their titles ever ſo ſpecious and cœleſtial. He whoſe ways are not apoſtolical, can never be eſteemed a ſucceſſor to the Apoſtles: whereas he who lives like an Apoſtle, though he bear no particular habit or name, is an apoſtolical man.

It is not reconcileable to common ſenſe or any ſenſe, that holineſs or the power of holineſs can adhere indelibly to a man of an idle, or profligate

and impure life, merely by the force of ordination, that is, of being ordained, according to the preſcription of the Law and Forms of man's deviſing, to perform an office which he performs not, but neglects or diſhonours. Can it ever accord with reaſon, or with the idea of God and his Religion, that thoſe lands, which are once poſſeſſed by one ſort of Churchmen, though acquired by the moſt impious frauds, to maintain the luxury of infamous and cheating Monks, muſt ſtill continue appropriated to the uſe of another ſort of Churchmen, and can never be alienated without the ſin of ſacrilege? That the holy Church of Jeſus Chriſt, who poſſeſſed no wealth himſelf, nor left any behind him, can crave or bear an endowment acquired by robbery and frauds, or refuſe to make reſtitution to ſuch as have been plundered in his name by vile and rapacious deceivers?

Sect. XII. How it is that public Teachers fail of reſpect, or gain it.

CAN there be more ſhocking tenets than thoſe, mentioned in the laſt Section, or more repugnant to all reaſon and virtue, to all truth and piety? Yet many ſuch tenets are maintained with notable fierceneſs. It is certain that the Reformation owned none ſuch; nor, conſequently, does our Church, which is founded upon the Reformation, own them. In renouncing Popery, we renounced all its falſities and abominations; nor can he who adopts and defends them, be an Engliſh Proteſtant, nor indeed hardly a Chriſtian, if he thus fly in the face of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and in their name demand poſſeſſions which they never enjoyed,

enjoyed, demand power which they never ſought, but always renounced.

If in their exhortations, they promote narrow intereſts, ſeparate from the public intereſt, or hurtful to it: if they endeavour to make their hearers rather blindly obedient to themſelves than zealous for the public weal and for the honour of the State, rather intoxicated dupes to names and deluſion than wiſe and good ſubjects: if when they are angry at their Governors they encourage diſaffection to the Government, but, when humoured, preach up ſlavery and tameneſs under oppreſſion however outrageous, can they hope to be reverenced? Can they be thought actuated by Religion, or Reaſon, by Mercy, or Truth, or by any good ſpirit? But, if their conduct be contrary to all this, no contempt or public deſpight can poſſibly befall them. Where they act worthily, they will be as ſure of reſpect, as by acting differently they will be ſure to miſs it. True reſpect comes from good deeds and not from notions and appellations, much leſs from pride and the itch of dominion, from impatience of difference in opinion, or peeviſhneſs of ſpirit. Whoever manifeſts a general meekneſs of behaviour, univerſal charity and forbearance, conſults and promotes private honeſty and peace, with public virtue and tranquillity and the welfare of ſociety, and goes about doing good, cannot fail to find the eſteem of all men.

Sect. XIII. Excessive Revenues of the public Teachers, how pernicious to the World. A decent and easy maintenance to be allowed them.

WHAT respect a great portion of the world owes to its Teachers, the miserable condition of most parts of it, the ignorance and slavery to which they have brought it, and under which they suffer, nay, oblige it to lye, do abundantly shew. Can it be denied that as their power rose, civil happiness sunk, that in proportion to their grandeur has been the misery of their followers? Indeed if the most heavy and lasting curses that can befall or afflict human kind, entitle them to respect, they may, in many places, claim the highest, from public delusion, persecution, beggary and bondage, and from general desolation and woe, as from so many monuments of their own raising, or such at least, as they largely helped to raise. It is evident, that where they prosper most, the people are the most wretched, and that to such prosperity such wretchedness is owing; if that can be called prosperity which produces such infinite evil.

Is not this ample warning to nations which are not yet in the same condition, to take care of every approach towards it? And is not this a ready answer to every attempt for accumulating overmuch worldly property upon spiritual men? Beyond a certain measure it makes them useless, very much makes them dangerous, and their pride and power always rise in proportion to their revenues. Is it not so in Spain and Italy, where their infinite wealth, eternally productive of infinite authority, has made them a public plague and scourge.

There

There their terrors and depredations know no bounds: Guarded by flames and an Inquisition against gainsayers and all opposition to their enormous falsehoods and insatiable avarice, they cheat and domineer without fear or restraint, and not content to prey upon the substance of the miserable Laity, rob them even of their senses and their time. So complete is the delusion there, so fast the bondage over soul and body.

If this be dreadful, let other nations yet free and rational, yet at liberty to understand the Bible and to follow their Consciences, guard against all measures that would lead them, however imperceptibly, into the same doleful and unchristian state, for Christianity is a state of freedom. The Church of Christ has subsisted, and even flourished, without any revenues at all; but too much revenue has always impaired its purity, sometimes quite defaced it, as in the above instances. It has always so happened, that immense wealth and a holy profession have not well accorded, and much pomp and spirituality neither look well nor sound well together. Neither can there be a more effectual demonstration, that neither a heavenly commission, nor heavenly hearts belong to men, to any set of men whatsoever, than to see them ever and ardently engaged in pursuits of worldly wealth and worldly power.

Let the public Teachers have a maintenance in the name of God, a decent and easy maintenance secured to them by laws and the consent of society; but let them not boldly pretend to derive their maintenance from God, when it is evidently the gift of men. They who contend for this, cut themselves off from all regard, and cannot possibly be grateful to any benefactor, since they consider him not as the giver, but only as the instrument,

nay, probably, may think him an usurper in pretending to give them what was theirs before by divine right.

Moreover their maintenance ought to be restrained within a certain measure, and not suffered to grow so as to devour in time the property and maintenance of all other men. If some of them have too little, as doubtless they have, others have too much; and in all orders of men there will ever be such inconveniences and unequal distribution; nor is it possible for public wisdom to remedy the same, or for the public purse to enrich or even to support all that are indigent, or situated lower than they wish, and sometimes deserve. It is more just that particulars should bear a hard lot, than that, to mend it, society should suffer, and the ballance of society be lost or endangered. It is against all reason, and very ungenerous, to seek relief from any scheme which would in time bring all men to seek relief from them. I wish it could be so ordered, that where-ever Religion produces Gain, Gain would never prove to be more considered than Religion.

Sect. XIV. An inquiry why the Christian Dispensation has, with all its advantages and excellencies, so little mended the World. Whether and how far public Teachers are chargeable with this.

WHY the world has not been more mended by the Christian Dispensation, of itself so much adapted to mend the world, is worth the inquiry of all men, especially of such as are employed to inculcate its precepts upon the minds of all. And here many other inquiries subsequent to this

this will naturally occur; namely, whether they have ever purſued their own worldly intereſt more aſſiduouſly than ſuited with their holy profeſſion, and never proſtituted religion to ſerve the purſuits of wealth and power: whether they have ever diſpenſed with ſins, and been even partial to favourite and bountiful ſinners, or diſcouraged and even perſecuted conſcience, and ſincerity, and all holineſs that bore not their mark: whether they never claimed an abſolving and damning power, and by it brought men to fear them more than God, to be more afraid of offending them than of committing ſin, for which they could ſo eaſily pronounce pardon: whether they have always manifeſted that humility, gentleneſs and benevolence ſo well becoming ſuch as ſpoke in the name of Chriſt: whether they never uſed the Holy Goſpel to warrant their own anger and ambition or avarice, and in the ſtile of the Goſpel enflamed the mad rage of party: whether they have been equally diligent to make their followers ſincere Chriſtians, as warm zealots, Champions for Chriſt as Champions for Churchmen: whether they promoted knowledge and all religious and rational inquiries without reſerve, and taught truth rather than blind ſubmiſſion, rather than the narrow principles of particular factions: whether they have promoted the great bleſſings of ſociety, civil and religious Liberty, obedience to equal and fixed Laws rather than to the lawleſs and unſteady will of man, and have always ſupported Government, when Governors obſerved the Laws: and whether men who have a holy profeſſion, if in their conduct they be not holy, can be reverenced for their profeſſion which they diſhonour, or lead men into all righteouſneſs, without being righteous themſelves?

The continual endeavours of ſo many thouſand Teachers in any country, to recommend the beauty

and benefit of Religion and Virtue, and to shew the deformity and mischief of evil and immorality, would surely be of vast weight and consequence. But let the number of Teachers be ever so great, small good will ensue, if many exert no endeavours at all, if many do it superficially, like a task which they seem forced to, and not to chuse or delight in.

If they recommend dry and dark speculations, such as are hard to be understood, or if understood, produce no practical duties, and, without mending the heart, only perplex the head: or if they inveigh against such as entertain ideas different from theirs, and provoke people to bitterness towards each other, instead of exhorting them to mutual love and forbearance: If their hearts appear set upon pomp, and gain, and dominion, rather than filled with humility and self-denial, and zeal for the souls of men: If they promote ignorance and slavery, persecution and discord, and shew anger or favour to men, not according as they are wicked or virtuous, but countenance their own followers however bad, and hate and distress such as only follow the pure dictates of Conscience: If they darken or pervert the Gospel by vain glosses, by false and selfish comments, and would oblige all men to submit to these their inventions, though directly opposite to the Gospel and all the ends of the Gospel; small is the wonder that mankind are not mended by such depraved instruction. It is indeed wonderful that, bad as they are, they are not still worse, since it is manifest that over a great part of the earth, and in some of its finest regions, their Instructors are continually deceiving, debasing, blinding, frightening and oppressing them.

In matters of Religion, neither the Greek Church nor the Roman Church allow their people to

to retain common ſenſe, nor to forgive it in others. For Religion they are taught gibberiſh, and contradictions, and dreams, and to hate and damn as Atheiſts, or Heretics, all who are not ſo blind, and diſtracted, and ſlaviſh as themſelves. Their Teachers even aſſume to ſell them the mercy of God and eternal Salvation, at a price, to abſolve them from the blackeſt guilt for money, and for money to diſarm the Almighty of his reſentment and vengeance. As long as they can pay, they may ſin, and are thus encouraged, nay, warranted in eternal immorality. In the Office of the Datary at Rome, ſins are taxed according to their ſeveral ſizes and qualities, and the greateſt as well as the leaſt are cancelled by ſilver and gold; and for iniquities deſtructive to ſociety and ſhocking to nature, ſuch as have wealth may find atonement.

Where ſuch or any commutations for ſin are allowed and practiſed, are ſins likely to abate, ſinners to mend, or Religion to abound, or even to ſubſiſt, in any force or purity? I wiſh nothing like this vile traffic were found in other countries even where Popery is aboliſhed. I doubt a good gift to the Altar, that is, to them who miniſter there, often paſſes as an expiation for a multitude of ſins; and has it never happened that a bounty to the Church has been ſtrangely preſſed upon the conſciences of timorous and dying people, as what powerfully opened the gates of Paradiſe, and was a prevailing antidote againſt future torments?

One thing ſeems to be notoriouſly true of almoſt all parties in Religion, that men are not eſteemed by them according to their real piety and virtue, but according to their blind adherence and party-zeal; and the moſt worthleſs or worſt men are often careſſed and applauded, whilſt the ſobereſt and the beſt are neglected or decried. Thus we

have seen very pious Christians hated and traduced as very bad Churchmen, when very base and very profligate men were extolled as excellent Churchmen.

The Gentlemen of Port Royal were, for their Learning and Writings, for their Religion and Virtue, an ornament to the learned world as well as to the Kingdom of France: They were even zealously attached to the Romish Religion. But all this merit saved them not from contumely and persecution, because they had defended the eternal laws of Morality and the Gospel against the execrable maxims and casuistry of the Jesuits, who in their voluminous writings had confounded all Morality and Conscience. For this the Gentlemen of Port Royal were represented as Atheists, Heretics, and enemies to the Church, nay, as enemies to the Government, and thence exposed to all injustice, ill usage, and the frowns of power. The like treatment had the divine Archbishop of Cambray, the immortal Fenelon. When at the same time, the grossest ignorants, the vilest voluptuaries, the most hot-headed bigots, were reckoned excellent Catholics, applauded, and preferred.

What the King of Sardinia has lately done, in taking the education of youth out of the hands of the Jesuits, merits great attention, and is an example to other Princes and States, at least to those of the same communion. It was indeed of high moment, that the public education should not be directed by an order of men who were continually pursuing an interest directly against the interest of the State; who taught his subjects not so much to reverence the Magistrate, as to reverence Them, not to love or consider the good of the whole, but the good of that Order; who poisoned them with party-maxims destructive of the maxims of society;

and

and instead of instilling the benevolent principles of peace and mutual forbearance, without which all society must be miserable or perish, inspired virulence and eternal hate, and would rather see the State run into ruin and dissolution, than suffer the least variation from their own conceits, however fond, or ridiculous, or wicked. For, it is notorious, that this is the spirit of the Jesuits. I wish it were not the spirit of several other sects and bigots, especially where their bigotry is animated by a passion for power and riches. It seems the Court at Turin is not much disturbed at the threats of the Reverend Fathers to leave the country, but even frankly offers passports to as many as think fit to go.

No body can forget the extraordinary merit and bitter treatment of the late excellent Dr. Clark, his able performances in defence of Christianity, and the restless attempt to ruin him as a bad Churchman. The declaration of Father Canaye the Jesuit to the Marshal D'Hocquincourt, related by St. Evremont, was open and instructive. The Marshal had said, that he was formerly a Janseniſt, but now for the Jesuits, and could be crucified for his Religion, though he knew not why or wherefore. Oh excellent words, blessed motions, says the Jesuit! *be crucified for Religion, yet not know why or wherefore!* what an extraordinary grace, my Lord, has Heaven bestowed upon you? *Estote sicuti infantes: Be as little children: Blessed are the poor in spirit.* The good Father liked the Marshal's zeal the better for being stark blind: so far was he from blaming his ignorance.

Where-ever it is more dangerous to offend the Clergy than to offend God, it is natural for the interest of Religion to decay. For the ignorant and the many, will always incline, nay, probably, be taught to rely more upon them than upon him, and

and to think that if they can but pleaſe them, they cannot diſpleaſe him. Where an ill man who conforms, is better uſed than a good man who diſſents, the neceſſity of being good will not be conſidered, but the neceſſity of being conformable, and men will not be ſo much afraid of ſin as of diſſenting. When the doing certain actions, which may be done without any devoutneſs at all, ſhall yet paſs for devotion, many will be apt to think that when they have performed theſe, they have done all that is required, at leaſt made amends for paſt iniquities, which they may ſtill cancel, as often as committed, by the like atonement and repetitions, and by a little devotion on one day in the week, calm their conſcience about all their failings during the reſt.

Thus falſe zeal is, as it were, a mulct for want of Religion, and paſſes for Religion; and many other Churchmen beſides thoſe of Rome, ſeem to accept of equivalents in the room of real piety. Were it otherwiſe, the guides of one ſect would love the ſober and good men of another ſect better than the vicious of their own. They would hate the ſtricteſt conformiſts who wanted virtue, and eſteem ſeparatiſts who had it. But I doubt the conſtant practice is otherwiſe in moſt Churches and Sects. So that the name of Religion is uſed, but the thing, the eſſence, is often turned into faction and party, and loſt in the endleſs paſſions of men. They all talk of Chriſt and Paul, and appeal to them. Perhaps it is well for many that they are not yet called upon by either to make good their appeals. Nay, were Chriſt or Paul to return to the earth under their former characters, I fear their reception, in many countries, would not be better than it was in Judæa.

This Section, as well as the whole Diſcourſe grows too long, though much more might be ſaid.

I ſhall

I shall make but one observation more, namely, upon the strange inconsistency which has sometimes appeared in the notions of some great and venerable Doctors about evil and sin; I mean how they could be vehement against peccadillos, against follies and frailties, which were of little consequence, and for which perhaps they had no relish, yet could often, at the same time, go deliberately, nay, zealously, into apparent measures of public oppression, or of public tumults and war; could assist and sanctify the most enormous, the most dreadful, the most complicated and devouring of all sins, those of Tyranny and Rebellion; could declaim terribly against profane swearing, which only hurt him who uttered it, and yet encourage and animate universal Perjury, sometimes in Magistrates, at another time in the people; and be for establishing universal Slavery, or inciting general Revolts, at different times, just as they happened to be pleased or disgusted. For such has been the inconsistency of their behaviour in many countries, and at many times; and, as none have ever proved sorer plagues to righteous Governors, none have been such fell champions for Tyrants. And as to the abuses of Religion, especially such as were gainful, have they ever appeared willing to reform them, or willingly suffered them to be reformed by others? And have not all great and useful Reformations been accomplished by the Laity, and constantly opposed by the public Teachers? Could Religion, the humble and disinterested Religion of the Gospel flourish under such Circumstances, and such Directors?

Sect.

Sect. XV. Of public Spirit, its use and efficacy. How little promoted by public Teachers. Some Considerations upon the importance and character of public Spirit.

WHILST the public Teachers were so much attached to party and interest, it was no wonder that in their teaching there were many material omissions. One thing of great importance they seem to have almost intirely neglected, I mean the raising and recommending of Public Spirit, so necessary to the prosperity of every Country, and even to the preservation of all. It was this which animated the Roman State, and set the Romans above all other men. But they who instructed the youth of Rome had no by-ends, no detached interests of their own. They inspired such as they taught, with the love of their Country, and of Virtue, and of Honour. The public good, the glory of the State, was the end of all, and to promote it they had learned chearfully to forego every private advantage, nay, life itself. This was a fine spirit, early and constantly infused, and produced men who were a credit and ornament to human nature, and are patterns still for the whole race. Such was the glorious effect of a noble and rational education.

The Romans began to know the value of Liberty, and to feel a passion for the Public Weal, at an age when others since are conning over words, and know little else but to fear the rod, and, without once thinking of their Country, only learn to reverence a particular set of men and names, and heartily to hate all the rest. They are for a course of many years employed about words, and notions,

tions, and subtleties; and when they are thus sufficiently disciplined into narrowness of mind, when their heads are well filled with absurd maxims, and unmeaning distinctions, they may be safely trusted abroad in the world, as secure against all free and rational sentiments, and possessed with false ideas of reverence and of aversion, to the end of their lives. When, like the young Romans, they might be shining in assemblies or armies, they are engaged in Logic, and combating in Metaphysics.

Mr. Locke says, 'It is matter of astonishment, 'that men of quality and parts should suffer themselves to be so far misled by custom, and implicit 'faith. Reason, if consulted, would advise, that 'their children's time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful to them when they 'come to be men, rather than to have their heads 'stuffed with a deal of trash, a great part whereof they usually never do (it is certain they never 'need to) think on again as long as they live; 'and so much as does stick by them, they are 'only the worse for. This is so well known, that 'I appeal to parents themselves, who have been 'at cost to have their young heirs taught it, whether it be not ridiculous for their sons to have 'any tincture of that sort of learning, when they 'come abroad into the world; whether any appearance of it would not lessen and disgrace them 'in company. And that certainly must be an 'admirable acquisition, and deserves well to make 'a part in education, which men are ashamed of 'where they are most concerned to shew their 'parts and breeding.'

In latter ages the cause of public Liberty has been little beholden to the public Teachers, who, instead of instilling and cherishing Public Spirit, without

without which Liberty can hardly subsist, have too often exerted all their endeavours to extinguish both. Where-ever Slavery is settled, they help too assiduously to confirm it, and where it is not, many of them have appeared diligent agents to introduce it. Was it thus they merited the profound reverence which they claimed from mankind, thus that they earned the mighty revenues which they enjoyed, for bringing upon men the highest evil which men can suffer, an evil big with every other evil, the dreadful calamity of public Servitude?

For the following part of this Section upon Public Spirit, I am obliged to a noble [a] Lord of great knowledge, observation and parts, with all which he himself seems to be much less acquainted, than they are who have the happiness of knowing him; and such is the private manner in which he passes most of his time, that his acquaintance are far from numerous: So natural it is for fine qualifications to be accompanied with great modesty.

'It is a remark of Thucydides, that bad Laws 'well executed are better than good Laws not 'duly observed. It is not enough for a Nation 'to have a good Constitution, unless both the 'Governors and People concur in adhering to it 'with strictness. Abuses once suffered to creep 'in, so naturally gain ground, so quickly spread, 'that it requires constant vigilance to prevent their 'entrance and growth. A jealousy for the Public 'is a commendable jealousy, and if ever the ex'cess of any passion were justifiable, it would sure'ly be so here. That temper of mind to which 'we give the name of Public Spirit, is so neces'sary to all societies, that it is next to impossible

[a] Lord Pagett.

'they

'they should long subsist without it. Indeed, 'whatever difficulties particular men may find in 'the exercise of it, all men agree to commend it. 'Nor can there be better proof of the excellency 'of any character, than to see the very men who 'resolve never to deserve it, taking great pains 'to make the world believe that they have a right 'to it.

'In times of the greatest corruption, we do not 'find, that ever a corrupt man of any sense durst 'openly avow his principles, or declare that he 'made his own interest the measure of his public 'conduct. Quite otherwise: Such men are apt 'to start at their own picture, and will not for-'give those who discover their views, and repre-'sent them in proper colours. Such tenderness is 'prudential; since the discovery of ill designs, is a 'step towards defeating them. Besides, men are 'generally more ashamed of vices which shew the 'weakness of their understanding, than of those 'which unfold the corruption of their hearts. It 'is a confession of the meanness of a selfish dispo-'sition, that men are thus loth to be thought go-'verned by it. Though they would be glad to 'reap benefit from their low pursuits, they are 'ashamed to be detected in contriving them.

'It therefore looks as if it were equally renoun-'cing the rules of good sense, and every impulse 'of good nature, to be destitute of regard for the 'welfare of the Community, or to imagine that 'any private advantage can stand in competition 'with the prosperity of the whole. For one na-'tion to grow rich by the spoils of others, is very 'unjust, yet not always impolitic. But to weaken 'and impoverish our own Country, is as foolish 'as it is wicked; since private property must be 'very insecure, when once that of the public is 'in danger; nor can it be ever more so than when

'it

'it comes to be deserted by those whose interest it 'is to preserve it.

'I believe that scarce any Constitution has been 'overturned by mere accidents or misfortunes. 'Errors at home may have immediately contri- 'buted to national ruin, and foreign invasion 'brought it on. But a long course of mismanage- 'ments, of ambition and rapine, and of evil and 'loose administration, has generally preceded all 'great Revolutions; when the leading men made 'it their only study to supplant, decry, and op- 'press each other; when the people were on both 'sides perverted to serve the narrow and corrupt 'purposes of particular and opposite Leaders, and 'were animated not by zeal for their Country, 'but for hostile factions debauching and rending 'their Country. Whenever cabals, and licen- 'tiousness, whenever corruption, and contempt of 'authority, are the measures of acquiring, and 'afterwards of supporting power, the consequences 'must be oppression and injustice, which will na- 'turally introduce disorder and confusion. A Go- 'vernment thus sapped in the foundations, like a 'tree, loosened at the roots, will infallibly be 'over-turned by the first unruly blast, and would in 'time be overset even by its own weight.

'Societies can never subsist but through the 'same means by which they were first instituted. 'Impartiality and justice, zeal for the Public, and 'a steady adherence to its interest, are the only 'national securities. When these are wanting, 'large Territories, and great Fleets and Armies, 'will prove but feeble supports; and, in spite of 'all such splendid appearances, destruction will 'follow. The several changes of Government in 'the Grecian Commonwealths, are proofs of this 'observation. Abuses of power made corruption

'necessary;

'neceſſary; corruption produced baſeneſs, luxury, 'and the extinction of all virtue, and theſe ſeldom 'ended but in ſome kind of Uſurpation and Ty-'ranny. Nor were they brought to a ſenſe of their 'follies until they had thus ſuffered for them; and, 'before they thought of returning to their old prin-'ciples of honeſty and Public Spirit, they muſt be 'firſt awakened by the ſevere laſh of ſome arbitra-'ry power. It was for this integrity of Manners, 'for this Public Spirit, and inviolable attachment 'to their Conſtitution, that the Lacedemonians 'were ſo remarkable, as were alſo the Romans 'for many ages, and it was through the decay of 'Public Spirit and national Integrity, that Athens 'was ſo near being deſtroyed in the courſe of the 'Peloponneſian War. Alcibiades, who had bound-'leſs ambition, employed his great wealth in de-'bauching the people, that by their aſſiſtance he 'might raiſe himſelf upon the ruin of his antago-'niſt. Hence alſo the peace concluded between the 'two nations by Nicias, was broken a few years 'after it was made; a breach which brought on 'all thoſe loſſes abroad, all thoſe diſtractions at 'home, which had like to have ended in the utter 'ſubjection of the Republic.

'Many examples of this kind are found in the 'Roman Hiſtorians; but remarkable above all is 'the ſtory and conduct of Cæſar, who by de-'bauching the people enſlaved the State. Who-'ever reads Tully's Epiſtles, which are a curious 'ſecret Hiſtory of thoſe times, muſt be ſtruck with 'the prodigious diſſolution of manners in that once 'honeſt and powerful people. Indeed ſo aſtoniſhing 'was the change, that they were become even paſt 'reclaiming. All the ſmart of their long and heavy 'misfortunes was not ſufficient to bring them back 'to a ſenſe of their duty to their Country. Inſo-'much that when by the death of their Dictator,

'Liberty

'Liberty was once more, as it were, presented to 'them, they wanted the courage, or rather they 'had not the honesty to accept it.

'If we inquire into the accounts of latter days, 'we still find the same causes regularly producing 'the same effects. What was it that occasioned 'those long and desperate civil wars which afflicted 'and almost destroyed the great and powerful King-'dom of France? Was it not private ambition, 'private interest carried on under public pretences? 'The preservation of the old Religion, and the 'modest request of a toleration to the new, were 'the outward appearances, and very plausible they 'were. But the injustifiable ambition of the Princes, 'and the selfish attachment of their dependents, 'were the secret springs that produced and prolong-'ed those pernicious disturbances, pernicious not 'only in weakening and impoverishing the State 'for the present, but in debauching the principles 'of all orders of men, and making each side look 'upon the irregular views of their own party as the 'only objects of attention and zeal, and thus sacri-'fice the interest, nay, almost the very being of the 'Community, to the low and narrow pursuits of fu-'rious factions. And when after the short calm of 'Henry the fourth's reign, the public disorders 'began to revive in the minority of his Successor, 'and it was found necessary for the support of the 'Royal Power, to curb and break that of the Gran-'dees, an opportunity was furnished to two suc-'ceeding Ministers, for their own security as well as 'their Master's, totally to destroy all possibility of 'opposition. So that putting an end to the old 'establishment, in its room they set up a new, 'which, probably, the French Nation will never 'be able to remove or alter.

'It

'It is impossible to forget, on this occasion, the 'great Revolution in a neighbouring Kingdom, 'not much above half a century ago. Whilst the 'Nobility and Commons were wisely quarrelling 'about the manner of raising the money requisite 'for disbanding the army, two or three Parricides 'snatched the opportunity, and sold the Liberties 'of their Country for two hundred and fifty thou- 'sand crowns, and changed an elective and limit- 'ed Monarchy into one hereditary and absolute.

'Who can reflect on the folly of such conduct, 'without surprize, when he considers it as some- 'times passing upon the world for mighty artifice 'and cunning? To barter away substances for 'shadows, to part with a birthright for a mess of 'pottage, is an absurdity so glaring, that one 'might as well believe those who do it to be pos- 'sessed with real honesty, as with any share of 'wisdom. Contemptible, and poor, and foolish 'are any terms, even the highest terms, for be- 'traying one's Country. They who do it, do 'but teach and encourage others to play the same 'game upon themselves, where they find by their 'example it may be done with impunity. What 'is general dishonesty, but general insecurity? 'To practise villainy ourselves, is to authorize it 'in others against us; and it is as natural to lose 'by it as to gain by it. They who for some pro- 'fit of their own would defraud mankind of their 'liberties or fortunes, are like sharpers who in- 'toxicate company with liquor before they play 'with them. They may succeed in robbing their 'dupes of their money, but have cause to fear 'their rage; since by the unjust loss of their mo- 'ney, men are likewise apt to lose all temper.

'Without peace of mind there can be no such 'thing as happiness; nor can there be any peace

'of

of mind where there is a ſenſe of guilt, which is naturally accompanied with apprehenſion of danger. Can ſuch as know that they are not to be truſted themſelves, ever frankly truſt others? They will be apt to think others like themſelves, true only to ſelf-intereſt, and ſo will try to deceive them, as well as deſpiſe them for being deceived. Thus endleſs diſhoneſty, whether in private or public life, will be attended with endleſs anxieties, when ſuch as practiſe it remember that by all their unrighteous acquiſitions, all their guilty ſucceſs, they can only ſet themſelves up as marks to be ſhot at, and will have the leſs chance of eſcaping by being ſo much expoſed.

'Greatneſs acquired by great abilities and Public Spirit, is a noble acquiſition, and will be enjoyed with ſatisfaction, though it cannot always eſcape obloquy and clamour. But power and pomp purchaſed by the miſery and groans of the people, as it is always deteſtable, ſo it is always unſafe. Grandeur, in order to be reſpected by the Public, muſt be ſupported with merit towards the Public. They who love the people, they who conſult their intereſt, and purſue it, are worthy to ſhine amongſt them, nay, worthy to rule them. But greatneſs without dignity, which ariſes as well from public benevolence as from capacity, is like Laws without penalties: The weak and ſimple may perhaps ſubmit to them; but they are deſpiſed by thoſe whom they are moſt wanted to reſtrain. To be exalted upon the ruins of Liberty and Laws, to riſe by force and iniquity, and to aſſert ſuperiority over men by hurting and oppreſſing them, is ſtrange infatuation, a dangerous province. It is like being mounted on an unruly horſe without bit or bridle;

'bridle; a situation which no wise man would 'chuse to be in. When Solon was advised to 'make use of his interest with his countrymen to 'seize the supreme rule, he answered wisely, that '*Tyranny indeed was a fair spot; but there was no* '*way to come out of it.*

'Such as are known not to love their Country, 'cannot reasonably expect to be safe in it, or that 'enmity to the Public will not meet with public 'hate, which is the next step to public revenge: 'and they who are indifferent to every interest but 'their own, though they may purchase flatterers 'who have minds as bad as theirs, can never be 'exempt from one miserable reflection, that most 'men, and all the best men abhor them, whilst 'only a few of the worst applaud them; nor can 'they find much delight from the hollow praises of 'a tribe of Fawners, when they remember that 'injured multitudes are at the same time perhaps 'cursing them.

'The desire of applause is implanted in human 'nature, and without doubt intended by the Au-'thor of nature as an incitement to virtue and be-'nevolent actions; since by such means only we 'can be sure of obtaining so pleasing a gratifica-'tion. We may indeed personate Public Spirit 'for a while, yet have none, and for a while, pass 'for virtuous without having Virtue: But the fraud 'will soon be discovered. No disguises can long 'hide the false Patriot: and his hypocrisy will but 'add to his condemnation, when it is no longer 'able to cover his guilt.

'There seems to be one never-failing test 'whence to distinguish a public spirited Man; 'even an honest and disinterested heart. This is 'a sort of constitutional Virtue, and whoever has 'it is secure against many of the most dangerous

'temptations. The love of money and of power 'are violent passions, and few who are strongly 'possessed with them can safely trust themselves. 'How naturally does the avaricious man listen to 'any scheme for filling his coffers? How eagerly 'does the ambitious man enter into measures for 'inlarging his figure and power? How apt are both 'to flatter themselves that they deserve all that 'they can possibly possess, that whatever they can 'grasp is but their due, and that therefore they 'can never grasp too much? Blinded by these favourite inclinations, they can bear nothing that 'thwarts them; and, as they thus state the account on one side only, the balance must be 'eternally one way.

'The true Patriot is content to take the approbation of his own conduct, at least for one part 'of his reward; neither would he exchange his 'quiet of mind, or the good wishes of his countrymen, for all the benefit which he could possibly 'make by justly forfeiting either. He has a general benevolence to the rest of the world, and 'cannot taste that unnatural happiness of being 'alone easy amongst the many that are miserable, 'especially were they to be miserable by his means. 'Though he may not set up for any romantic pitch 'of Patriotism, though he do not undertake to devote himself for his Country, like Curtius, and 'may be diffident of the weakness of human nature when put upon such awful trials; yet of 'one Virtue he is at all times sure, never to sacrifice the Public to his passions or interest, or risque 'the tranquillity of the State for any views or emoluments of his own.

The END of the DISCOURSES.

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